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The Scottish Text Society

The Buik of Alexander

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The Buik of Alexander

OR

THE BUIK OF THE MOST NOBLE AND VALIANT CONQUEROUR ALEXANDER THE GRIT

BY

JOHN BARBOUR

ARCHDEACON OF ABERDEEN

EDITED, IN FOUR VOLUMES, FROM THE UNIQUE PRINTED COPY IN THE POSSESSION OF THE EARL OF DALHOUSIE, WITH INTRODUCTIONS, NOTES AND GLOSSARY, TOGETHER WITH THE FRENCH ORIGINALS (LI FUERRES DE GADRES AND LES VŒUX DU PAON) COLLATED WITH NUMEROUS MSS.

By R. L. GRÆME RITCHIE, D.Litt.

PROFESSOR OF FRENCH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE IN THE UNIVERSITY OF BIRMINGHAM

VOLUME I.

CONTAINING PART I. OF THE BUIK OF ALEXANDER (NAMELY PP. 1-106) AND LI FUERRES DE GADRES, EDITED FROM MS. 264 OF BODLEY'S LIBRARY

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THE UNIVERSITY OF ABERDEEN

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PREFACE.

PRINTING having been delayed by post-war difficulties, the three remaining volumes of the present edition have been ready in manuscript for some time. In these circumstances it has seemed advisable to depart from the order of publication announced when Volume II. appeared in 1921, and to issue at this stage Volume I., as being of more immediate interest to Scottish readers than Volumes III. and IV. While we regret having thus to disappoint those who are awaiting the complete text of 'Les Vœux du Paon,' we are glad to take the opportunity now offered of expressing an opinion on the vexed question of the Scottish translator's identity, and of thanking those who at one time or another have aided us in a somewhat arduous and complex undertaking.

Unhappily, Dr George Neilson, at whose suggestion it was begun, is no longer with us, but, in default of thanks, we can at least place on record our feelings of affectionate gratitude and our admiration for the learning and enthusiasm he devoted so wholeheartedly to the elucidation of the Scottish past. His unfaltering belief in Barbour as translator of our 'Buik' required no support from us, but there is a melancholy pleasure in helping to show that it was not misplaced. To Dr David Baird Smith, who was General Editor of the Scottish Text Society when this edition was conceived, we owe a deep debt of

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gratitude for looking with favour upon our work despite its ample scale, and for smoothing the long path by all the means in his power. We would also express our thanks to Mr F. C. Nicholson of the Edinburgh University Library; to Mr C. A. Malcolm of the S.S.C. Library, and the members of their staff, for settling manifold queries; to Miss I. Maitland Smith, for sober and sobering criticism on the Barbour ascription; to our distinguished student, Miss Aileen Calderwood, for much light on the Literature of Vows and the Vogue of the Nine Worthies; to Miss J. J. Milne and Mr Bruce Dickins, for reading the present Introduction in proof and for much valuable criticism — as also to other friends whose names are mentioned at that place in our volumes where their aid was most providential.

To readers who will draw our attention to errors which the two volumes published no doubt contain, and which there will be an opportunity of correcting later on, we shall be equally grateful. The complexity of the problems raised having inevitably drawn us into discussion of subjects belonging to several distinct fields of scholarship, we must crave more than ordinary indulgence for the present edition and say like our translator, though with better cause :—

> " richt wonder weill I wait
> At it hes faltis mony-fald,
> Quhairfor I pray baith ȝoung and ald
> That ȝarnis this romanis for to reid,
> For to amend quhair I mysȝeid."

R. L. G. R.

UNIVERSITY OF BIRMINGHAM,
December 1925.

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INTRODUCTION.

CHAPTER I: ARBUTHNET'S PRINT.

§ 1. Scope of the present Introduction: from the 'Buik' to Barbour.

In the following Introduction the witnesses in the strange case of the 'Buik' will be called, each in his proper order, beginning with the chief, the venerable volume in which our text has been so miraculously preserved. After endeavouring to determine as precisely as possible how that volume came to be printed, and when and why, we describe the two celebrated Old French Romances which the 'Buik' translates—'Li Fuerres de Gadres,' hitherto accessible only in an imperfect version, and 'Les Vœux du Paon,' until now unpublished although it gave rise to a whole literary "genre," created in literature and art the vogue of the Nine Worthies, played a part in the foundation of the Order of the Garter, and was, in legend at least, a contributory cause of the Hundred Years' War.

The translation itself is then discussed. It is shown to possess considerable literary merit and to render the French with a fidelity rare among the Middle English translators, who, whether they were misguided in their

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conceptions of translation, or imperfectly acquainted with French, or wrote from memory, or used MS. versions differing from those now extant, often offer renderings so free, unwarrantably condensed or expanded, as to throw little light on a crucial problem: in Middle English literature, which is so largely the product of French, how much of the matter and form is French, and how much is English? In the 'Buik' the line between translation and free adaptation, between imitation of foreign work and native originality, can be sharply drawn, because the reader will find here, printed on opposite pages, the entire text of MSS. evidently identical with the French originals, and a most faithful early Scottish rendering thereof. The 'Buik' thus provides an opportunity, unfortunately rare, of examining the channels through which our forefathers made their acquaintance with Romance.

It might be maintained that there the Editor should make an end and not pry into the anonymous translator's identity, for *sub specie æternitatis* it little matters who or what he was, the work being more important to us than the man. Escape on this convenient plea is unhappily barred. There are not so many early Scottish writers that we can afford to ignore their biographical details. The number of their works on the grand scale is not legion; it is, to be precise, four: the 'Bruce,' the 'Legends of the Saints,' Wyntoun's 'Original,' and the 'Buik.' When in the writings of all who deal with these four works we find one name continually recurring, that of John Barbour, and note that two of them, Barbour's 'Bruce' and the 'Buik,' stand in the closest conceivable inter-relationship, we must seek for at least a plausible answer to a question of much intrinsic interest and fundamental to all study of early Scottish literature:

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how comes it that the 'Bruce,' composed in 1375, contains elements from the 'Buik,' the colophon of which is dated 1438?

To identify our translator and determine his relation to the main authority on the events which made Scotland a nation must become our next endeavour, leading us inevitably to examine the arguments adduced by generations of scholars for or against Barbour's authorship of the 'Buik,' to test the authenticity of the 'Bruce' as we now possess it, and to study our translator's other extant work, the 'Ballet of the Nine Nobles.' The result of our inquiry is, we believe, to establish beyond further dispute that Barbour and the author of the 'Buik' and the 'Ballet' were one and the same person. If to arrive at that result we seem to proceed slowly and with undue caution, it must be remembered that we are dealing with texts of inordinate length and very numerous MSS., and that every inch of the difficult ground has been stubbornly contested by scholars.

In the light of new fact, and with our own interpretation of old fact, we have next to rewrite the life of Barbour, a very different person indeed from the aged, infirm, absent-minded and bemuddled cleric whom the critics have imagined, losing valuable books from the Cathedral Library, for ever inditing interminable Lives of Saints, lending a credulous ear in the Chanonry of Old Aberdeen to popular tales of Robert the Bruce, rolling three distinct and separate Robert Bruces into one, and entitled to as little respect or credence as he who, writing in 1975 a biography of George the Fifth, should confuse his present Majesty with the Prince Consort. In reconstructing the story of Barbour's 'Buik' and assigning it its place in his whole work, we find him a more consider-

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able literary figure than has been realised, presenting interesting analogies with Chaucer, his contemporary, and Scott, his heir and successor.

Then we cannot shirk the disquieting question which at once arises: since Barbour in his 'Bruce' utilised his own translation of a French Romance with a freedom uncommon in the history of literature, what becomes of the familiar story of the Bruce, Douglas, and Bannockburn, for which he is the main, often the sole, authority?

Finally remains the simpler task of examining the language, vocabulary, syntax, and grammar of this, the earliest extant work of Scottish Literature, with the solitary exception of the pathetic little ballad composed after, perhaps long after, the death of Alexander the Third in 1286.

§ 2. The Unique Copy.

The 'Buik' belonging to the Earl of Dalhousie is a small quarto volume, severely cropped, now measuring $6\frac{4}{5}$ by $4\frac{3}{5}$ inches. The binding is modern; the front of the cover bears, in gilt lettering, the inscription, *This curious book is considered unique*, 1805; and the back, 'Hist. Alex^{r}. the Great.'

In its present state the volume contains 221 leaves, with catch-words and signatures, but no paging. The title-page and the eight pages of signature I in the body of the book are missing, having been lost before it was bound in 1805. With that exception, the signatures run quite regularly, from Aj to Ff v. The headlines (which do not always quite tally with the subject-matter, see Vol. II., p. x. § 1) are—from Aj^{b} to G vii^{a}, The Forray / of Gadderis; from G vii^{b} to Aa ij^{a} (excepting G viii^{b}, where The Forray is erroneously repeated), The Avowes of Alexander; from Aa ij^{b} to Ff v^{b}, The Great Battell / of Effesoun.

The book is closely printed in roman letter; there are, normally, 32 lines to the page, occasionally only 30 or 31, where two spaces or one have been allowed between important sections of the work. On the last leaf, G v, of The Forray of Gadderis are two woodcuts, representing the same sub-

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ject, but in different sizes, the larger on the verso, the smaller on the recto. The design of the larger woodcut, a very beautiful example of the art, and that of the smaller, which is of less perfect workmanship, are not identical. The subject, a pelican tearing her breast to feed her young with her own blood, is framed in a double legend: *Pro lege, rege et grege; Love kepyth the lawe, obeyeth the Kynge, and is good to the Commen Welthe.* On either side stand the allegorical figures PRVDENCIA and IVSTICIA, and on the panels above them appears the name ALEXANDER ARBVTHNET. On a scroll at the foot are the initials AA, and in front of the scroll the arms of Arbuthnet. Under the word PRVDENCIA is the monogram A. VL. These woodcuts are the well-known device of the printer Alexander Arbuthnet, copied from that of Richard Jugge and John Windet.[1] The monogram A. VL probably stands for Assuerus von Londersel, a native of Amsterdam.[2]

The volume is well preserved, and may be read with ease, but neither in accuracy nor in elegance is it a masterpiece of the printer's art. It abounds in errors which cursory proof-reading would have removed. Words are printed twice over, or else omitted, where the "copy" cannot well have been at fault. The space between words varies; it is often difficult to say whether a space is intended or not, but spacing which is clearly wrong is frequent. Letters are often inverted, and in a word like *cousing* ("cousin") it is almost an exception to find the *u* undisguised as *n*; others are indistinct or faint, or represented by a blank due not to the hand of time, but to incompetence. Neither the type used nor the arrangement of the page is artistic. The letters are clumsy in appearance, and many bear an unhappy resemblance to others, notably *e* and *o*, *f* and long *s*, *in* and *m*, *i* and *l*, *r* and *t*, *ss* and *st*, so that they tend to become interchanged. Though few words are quite illegible, the catch-words are sometimes mere smudges, and a considerable blank appears in Fo. S iiij, where some defect in Arbuthnet's methods has resulted in the loss of the first half of four consecutive lines.

The untidy appearance of the page is due to the heaviness of the type, to the inferior quality of the paper, which was, or has become, too transparent, and to the unequal length of the lines, which, moreover, at irregular intervals, begin with a small letter instead of a capital. Judged by the canons of sixteenth century Scottish printing, Arbuthnet's volume

[1] R. Dickson and J. P. Edmond, 'Annals of Scottish Printing.' Cambridge (Macmillan & Bowes), 1899. Pp. xv+530; p. 316.

[2] Laing, 'Adversaria: Notices illustrative of some of the earlier works printed for the Bannatyne Club.' Edinburgh, 1867; p. 10.

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is far below the average, and confirms the low opinion which his contemporaries held of his efficiency as a printer.

Several pages bear marginal inscriptions, written vertically in most cases, by late sixteenth or early seventeenth century hands, as follows :—

(1) Fº. E. viii^a, inner margin—

Better it is fortoun to abyd
Than haistilie to clim and sudenly to slyd

This is repeated in the outer margin ; the lower line is cropped.

(2) Fº. E. viii^b, outer margin—

In my defence god me defend and bring [my] saull to ane
gud end quhen I am seik and Lyke to die/
The sonne of god haue mynd on me

(3) Fº. G. v^b, above the woodcut—

James RAM

(4) Fº. G. vi^a, outer margin—

The pains depart^s bot vertue remaine^s
Be me Robert peter manũ sũa et non aliena

Traces remain of a line or lines written above these and lost when the book was cropped, but they are undecipherable.

(5) Fº. K. viii^a, outer margin (*bis*)—

James beton
w^t my hand

(6) Fº. K. viii^b, inner margin—

Seing nator^s god creatit the/
Ane nakit infant for to be/
Then remember patientlie to suffer ye panis of powertie

(7) Fº. L. j^a, outer margin—

manu sua et non aliena
Infantŭm nudŭm cŭm te natura crearat
Paupertatis omnes sapienter

Here again there are traces of a preceding line or lines, lost when the volume was cropped.

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(8) Fo. N. i^a, outer margin, horizontally—
S
d d
In m
In
g g
des
bem
s s

These letters may be the first of consecutive lines, but they look like mere pen-trials.

(9) Fo. N. vi^b, outer margin—
ame ame trie amen fra me quod

The rest is undecipherable.

(10) Fo. R. vi^b, outer margin—
RAMSAY

Only the lower part of these six letters has escaped the binder's knife.

(11) Fo. V. ij^a, outer margin—
amen Robert RAMSAY

(12) Fo. X. viii^b, outer margin—
ONE tre if it be scho godnez scho be driuit in for me annon not me

(13) Fo. Z. iiij^a, outer margin—
Robert Rm

(14) Fo. Dd. v^b, outer margin—
and

(15) Fo. Dd. vii^a, inner margin—
this book pertenis to me James Ramsay

These marginal inscriptions are unconnected with the subject-matter, unless No. 1 be prompted by the last four lines of the page (78 of our edition: Book I., lines 2477-80), and some are stray specimens of sixteenth-seventeenth century Scottish verse, or the incoherent scribblings of an idle hand. "Robert Peter," who may or may not have composed the line written "manu sua et non aliena," and "James Beton," who wrote his name "w^t my hand," we have been unable

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to identify. The "James Ramsay," whom Nos. 3 and 15 show to have been at one time the owner of the book, and the "Robert Ramsay" of Nos. 11, 13, and perhaps 10, were no doubt related to the Ramsays of Dalhousie, in whose possession the book still remains. The records present numerous persons so named [3] of whom little is known but their names and on whose connection with the book it is therefore useless to speculate. All that may reasonably be conjectured is that the book was acquired, soon after publication, by a member of the Ramsay family. By 1831 it had descended to William Ramsay (*b.* 1771, *d.* 1852), who assumed the arms and name of Maule, and was created, in 1831, Lord Panmure of Brechin and Navar, and whose son, Fox Maule, second and last Lord Panmure, became in 1860 eleventh Earl of Dalhousie.[4]

§ 3. The Bannatyne Club Reprint.

Communicated to the Bannatyne Club by its owner, William, Lord Panmure, the Arbuthnet volume was reprinted for the members (100 copies only) at the expense of William Henry Miller of Craigentinny, as—

The Buik of the most noble and vailzeand Conquerour Alexander the Great. Edinburgh, MDCCCXXXI (10½" × 8"), 441 pp.

This title is borrowed from the rubrick on Fo. A j. The title-page of the unique copy being lost, it is not known what title either the author or the printer gave the work. That Arbuthnet published it as 'The Avowis of Alexander' is not improbable, because we know that Henry Charteris, who from 1577 to his death in 1599 printed books of varied subject-matter, possessed in 1599 "xij Awowis of Alexander, bund, at x s. the pece—summa, iiij li. Item, nyne vnbund Awowis of Alexander, at vij s. vi d. the pece—summa, iij li. vij s. vj d."; also, the inventory of Robert Gourlaw, bookbinder, 6th September 1581, included a copy of the 'Vowis of Alexander,' valued at viij s.[1] These may well have been copies of Arbuthnet's print. But 'The Avowis of Alexander' describes only the latter part of the contents, and the analogy of other early works—*e.g.*, Sir Gilbert Hay's 'Buik of King Alexander ye Conquerour' (*c.* 1460), suggests an original title

[3] Sir James Balfour Paul, 'The Scots Peerage' (D. Douglas, 1906), Vol. iii., pp. 95, 97, 98, 101; Vol. ix., p. 66.

[4] Ibid., Vol. vii., p. 24.

[1] See Dickson and Edmond, pp. 359-76; 'Bannatyne Miscellany,' ii., p. 200; Laing, 'Adversaria,' p. 1.

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somewhat as in the rubrick, and in the Bannatyne Club reprint.[2]

The volume, though dated 1831, was issued only in 1834, without Preface or other explanatory matter. The Editor, whose name does not appear, was David Laing. Long years after, he stated elsewhere [3] that his Preface had been in type, but had not commended itself to the Contributor [Mr W. H. Miller], and "not being inclined to make any great alterations after having met with the approval of Sir Walter Scott and others, I thought best to withdraw it altogether." Eventually printed [4] in 1867 as it originally stood, it contains valuable material, which we gratefully utilise, but nothing to account for this divergence of opinion on matters which Laing leaves unspecified. The 'Buik of Alexander' has always been a fertile source of controversy, and many may have been the subjects on which Contributor and Editor held strong opinions, as becomes men who lived in the heroic age of book-collecting. Miller was the well-known bibliophile (*b.* 1789, *d.* 1848) who formed the famous collection of rare books at Britwell Court, who attended all book sales armed with a foot-rule and thereby won the nickname of "Measure Miller," and whose funeral monument at Craigentinny is a familiar landmark on the road from Edinburgh to Portobello, and a perennial source of speculation to the vulgar.[5] Laing, to whose activities, spread over a long life (1793-1878), the Edinburgh University Library owes more than half of its most valuable manuscripts, was a successful collector, but a much-criticised scholar.[6] Whatever the cause of disagreement, this is assuredly not the only occasion on which allusion may have been made to Miller's eccentricity or to Laing's shortcomings as an editor of early texts.

These shortcomings, we gladly acknowledge, are not conspicuous in the Bannatyne volume, which is not an edition, but a paginary reprint of Arbuthnet's 'Buik,' reproducing not only the paging, but the spacing of lines and words, the punctuation, the signatures and wood-cuts, together with the numerous misprints of the original, those that are certain,

[2] The use of the generic term is the European practice; thus the anonymous geographer of Ravenna, who is the first to mention the tale of Alexander, refers to the *liber Alexandri*, and among the earliest literary works of Spain we find *El libro de Alejandro* (along with *Los votos del Paon*); see Carraroli, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

[3] 'Adversaria,' pp. 1-9.

[4] As 'Adversaria.'

[5] 'D. N. B.' and Wm. Y. Fletcher, 'English Book Collectors.' Kegan Paul, 1902, pp. xvi. + 448; pp. 355-8.

[6] Gilbert Goudie, 'David Laing: A Memoir.' Constable, 1913.

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as well as those that are only probable. Laing's aim, quite properly, was to give a replica of Arbuthnet's print. He admits[7] that he occasionally rectified wrong spacing and some inverted letters, substituted "in the first sheets" capitals for small letters in proper names, and took the (very modest) liberty of adding to the original signatures the numbered paging of his own volume and repeating on the last page the wood-cut which Arbuthnet gave only once, on Fº. G v, *verso*. As a matter of fact, Laing went further than he realised. His intentional alterations are not wholly covered by his statement of them, nor are they consistently carried out, and several errors crept in during transcription or printing. The inconsistencies and errors revealed by our collation of his reprint with its original need not be enumerated here, being plainly shown in the apparatus criticus. In comparison with the extent of the work, they are neither numerous nor important. The members of the Bannatyne Club in 1834 received, in a more bulky format, a faithful reproduction of the unique copy. Whether, with the retention of Arbuthnet's crabbed punctuation, faulty readings and plentiful misprints, and in the absence of any explanatory matter, Preface, Introduction, Notes, or Glossary, they were able to read what was put before them, is another question. The less Spartan, but also more perilous, method followed in the present edition is described in our Volume II., pp. viii-xii.

§ 4. The Printer Arbuthnet.

In or about the year 1580, Alexander Arbuthnet, Printer to the King's Majesty, produced the 'Buik' in Edinburgh, under circumstances which can now only be conjectured from facts known to us through his share in a greater undertaking. He not only rescued our ancient text from certain oblivion, he was the first to print in Scotland the Bible in the vulgar tongue. On March 7, 1574-5, the General Assembly granted "Alexander Arbuthnet, Merchant burgess of Edinburgh," and "Thomas Bassanden,

[7] 'Adversaria,' p. 9.

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Printer and burgess of the said burgh," permission to print "the English Bible," decreed that the subscription price, five pounds Scots, should be collected in advance by the "Bishops, Superintendents, and Commissioners" and be paid to Arbuthnet before July 1 of that year, and took steps to obtain legal powers making it obligatory for every parish church in Scotland to possess a copy. In return for these resolutions, which soon afterwards, and in a yet more drastic form, became the law of the land, the printers undertook to deliver copies in March of the following year.[1]

But the optimism of printers is often belied by events. The records of later Assemblies show Arbuthnet "humbly desiring your Wisdoms to request my Lord Abbot of Dunfermline to licentiate Mr George Young, his servant, to attend upon the work of correctorie, to concur and assist me during the time of my travell," and repeatedly craving extension of the time-limit.[2] Trouble with workmen occurred. "Salamon Kerknet of Madeburgh," a compositor "furth of Flanderis," sued Bassandyne for breach of contract. The partners quarrelled. Bassandyne, having refused to deliver to his partner, as agreed, the printing-house and the Bible, so far as printed, was sued by Arbuthnet, who won his case, on January 11, 1576-7, and thenceforth carried on the business alone. In October of that year Bassandyne died, leaving, it may be noted, a much larger estate than Arbuthnet was fated

[1] "Minute of the General Assembly" of March 1575, quoted in full in 'The Booke of the Universal Kirke of Scotland' (Blackwood, 1839), pp. xii+619; pp. 327-9. Lee, 'Memorial for the Bible Societies in Scotland,' Edinburgh, 1824, pp. xxxii+256+Appendix, 96; pp. 28-45, who cites 'Calderwood's MS. History.' R. Chambers, 'Domestic Annals of Scotland,' i., 101. Dickson and Edmond, pp. 278-80.

[2] Dickson and Edmond, pp. 281-6.

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to leave. After much delay, and much objurgation from the Assembly, the whole work was completed by the end of 1579.[3] But in July 1580 the Fathers and Brethren were still expressing their deep dissatisfaction with Arbuthnet for his bad printing.[4]

His next known effort culminated in his publication of Buchanan's 'Rerum Scoticarum Historia' in 1582, which has attained a sad celebrity as "one of the most inaccurate works which ever issued from any press."[5] His other extant productions are a scientific treatise in Latin by William Wellwood, Professor of Mathematics at St Andrews (1582), a "Declaration of the King's Majestie's Will and Intentioun anent the Religioun" (also 1582), and the Acts of Parliament of 1584.[6] The inventory of his estate[7] (two printing-presses, with fittings and household goods valued at £106, 13s. 4d.) shows that he died intestate on September 1, 1585, at Penicuik, leaving a widow, Agnes Pennycuike, and five children. He had not found printing a lucrative trade.

[3] Between 24th August, when he was made King's Printer, and December 1579, as proved by the title-page: 'Printed in Edinburgh / Be Alexander Arbuthnot, Printer to the Kingis Maiestie, dwelling / at ye Kirk of feild. 1579 / Cvm Gratia Et Privilegio Regiæ / Maiestatis. /' Arbuthnet's Bible is a reprint in roman letter of the 2nd folio edition of the Geneva version of 1561, to which is prefixed an Epistle Dedicatory dated 10th July 1579, in which James VI. is exhorted to remember diligently how the setting forth and authorising of this book pertain to his charge—a broad hint at the pains and penalties attaching to its forced sale. Lee, 'Memorial,' pp. 39-40; Dickson and Edmond, pp. 312 and 320.

The Epistle, indited probably by Arbuthnet himself, begins: "Now quhē as being cōuenit in our generall assemblie, this holy boke of God callit the Bible, newly imprentit, was brocht before us be the prenter thereof Alexander Arbuthnot (a man quha hes taken great paines and trauailes worthie to be remembred in this behalfe)." M'Crie, 'Life of Andrew Melvill' (Blackwood, 1819), i., pp. 466-7.

[4] Lee, 'Memorial,' p. 43; Dickson and Edmond, p. 314.

[5] Dickson and Edmond, p. 24.

[6] Ibid., pp. 320-6. A (unique) copy of the 'Wellwood' is in the Edinburgh Univ. Library.

[7] Printed in the 'Bannatyne Miscellany,' ii. (1836), p. 207, and reproduced by Dickson and Edmond, pp. 318-9.

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As our 'Buik' was printed by Arbuthnet "with the same types and almost as inaccurately" [8] as his 'Buchanan,' it probably belongs to the same period. In the interval between the completion of his 'Bible' towards the end of 1579 and the appearance of his 'Buchanan' in 1582, melancholy reflections on the recent past may well have turned Arbuthnet's hopes from sacred literature to profane. After finishing, in tribulation, one of his two major works and before beginning the other, he may not improbably have been minded to woo the public with lighter reading. Even if we assume the 'Vowis of Alexander,' mentioned September 6, 1581,[9] to have no connection with the 'Buik,' the date of printing, which in any event is limited to 1579-85, may be safely described as "about 1580."

§ 5. The Origins of Arbuthnet's Print.

As to why Arbuthnet should have printed the 'Buik of Alexander,' reasons are not far to seek. Business reasons primarily, no doubt. Old Romances were popular with the reading public, and printers knew it. The large stock of books which Bassandyne, whether as a bookbinder or as printer, possessed at the Nether Bow when he died, included copies of several Romances—*e.g.*, "iii^{c} Graysteillis, the pece vi^{d}—summa vii li. x s."; "tua Euing of Burdeaux, the pece xiiii.—xxviii s." [1] There was also a certain fitness in Arbuthnet's selection of a Romance. Had he followed in the choice of suitable

[8] Laing, 'Adversaria,' p. 9.
[9] See *supra*, § 3.
[1] 'Inventory,' Dickson and Edmond, pp. 292-304.

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material for his press the threefold and comprehensive precepts of his own trade device, his output would not have boasted a fairer unity. *Pro lege*—the category is complete; *pro rege*—less complete than he might have wished, for James the Sixth had made him "Printer to the Kingis Majestie," but was careful not to entrust him with the printing of his own writings; *pro grege*—there was room here for a Romance.

But why the Romance of Alexander? A partial answer will be found in our note 2 to § 11 on Alexander as a popular hero in Scotland,[2] and in certain facts of Arbuthnet's own life. From his first recorded appearance in March 1574-5, he had precedence over his partner, who yet had been printing since at least 1568, and in all their dealings with the Assembly he took the lead. He had friends among the landed gentry, influential members of the Assembly.[3] He had armorial bearings; Bassandyne had none.[4] His rôle in the partnership was to bring capital perhaps, social and ecclesiastical influence almost certainly. Bassandyne brought practical knowledge of the printing trade, and it was an evil day for the firm when he left it. Arbuthnet, so far as he may be judged by his friends, was a man of some standing, a member of the social class which loved the old tales of chivalry.

Arbuthnet was a gentleman first and a printer last, if ever. If of these honourable appellations the second

[2] The Inventory made in 1578 of the books in Edinburgh Castle includes 'Thre Lyves of Alexander the Greit and utheris nobles.' J. Sharman, 'The Library of Mary Queen of Scots' (Elliot Stock), 1889, 180 pp.; p. 47.

[3] Four members acted as sureties for him when he applied to the Privy Council, on 18th July 1576, for nine months' grace to fulfil his contract: David Guthre of Kincaldrum, William Guthre of Halkertoun, William Rynd of Carse, and James Arbuthnot of Lentusche.

[4] Chambers, 'Dom. Ann.,' i., p. 101.

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unhappily requires some qualification in his case, the first may be amplified without outrunning the scanty evidence at our command. He was a Kincardineshire gentleman, related to Arbuthnot of that ilk. His arms leave little doubt on this score.[5] In the Mearns (Kincardineshire), some three miles east of Bervie, the parish of Arbuthnot (from the seventeenth century commonly written Arbuthnott) is still the seat of the ancient family of Arbuthnott, ennobled by Charles the First in 1644. The printer's name—Arbuthnet in the 'Buik,' Arbuthnot on the title-page of the 'Bible' and in the contemporary documents[6]—is a local name. All the Arbuthnots who have reached fame have been eventually traced to Kincardineshire. Thus, his distinguished namesake (1538-83),[7] who was commissioned on July 7, 1568, by the General Assembly[8] (of which he was twice Moderator) to report on the dubious theology of the first book printed by Bannatyne, 'The Fall of the Romane Kirk,' combined, from July

[5] The Lord Lyon (Sir James Balfour Paul) very kindly examined them for us in April 1921. We had hoped that they might shed light on the antecedents not only of Alexander Arbuthnet, but also of Agnes Pennycuicke his wife; but Lyon expressed his opinion thus: "The pelican in her piety and the surrounding mottoes are merely of the nature of a trade device: the arms themselves have as the dexter impalement those of Arbuthnott differenced by the insertion of a fusil-shaped object in the chief. The sinister impalement presents greater difficulty: or, on a chevron sable three lozenges of the first, is the blazon of a family of Learmonth; but in this case also the shield is differenced, this time by the insertion of a star in base. But the name of the only recorded wife of Alexander Arbuthnott was Agnes Pennicook, and the Pennicook arms are quite different."

[6] Collected by Dickson and Edmond, pp. 273-319.

[7] Frequently confused with the printer—*e.g.* in the 'New Statistical Account' (1845), Vol. xi. ("Kincardine"), p. 157, and Ward, 'Catalogue of Romances in the Department of MSS. in the British Museum' (London), 1883, i., p. 149.

[8] He, too, is called Arbuthnet in the Minute of the 'Proceedings': see Calderwood, 'History of the Kirk,' ii., p. 423. In the 'Edinburgh Marriage Register' (ed. H. Paton), 1905, there are several seventeenth century entries of various spellings, "Arbuthnot," "Arbuthnett," &c. In the 'Commissariot Record of Edinburgh, Register of Testaments' (ed. Francis J. Grant) (British Record Society), 1897, pp. 304, the Arbuthnets mentioned *c.* 1596 are all clearly connected with Angus or the Mearns.

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1569, the offices of Principal of King's College, Aberdeen, and minister of Arbuthnot, his native parish.[9] And the famous wit of a later age, John Arbuthnot (1667-1735), who seemed to Dr Johnson, notwithstanding his nationality, "the most universal genius of Queen Anne's reign, being an excellent physician, a man of deep learning, and a man of much humour,"—after his father's death at the family residence, Kinghornie,[10] took the high road to London at a point some three miles south-east of Arbuthnot.

The printer's four sureties were Lairds of Angus and the Mearns. Whatever the precise relationship, he was favourably known to some of them as a native of the Mearns, and to others as a kinsman.[11] Further than that we are not disposed to go. From much poring over Sir

[9] He wrote, about 1567, an account of the family, entitled 'Originis et incrementi Arbuthnoticæ familiæ descriptio historica,' and preserved in MS. at Arbuthnott.

George A. Aitken, 'The Life and Works of John Arbuthnot, M.D.' (Oxford: Clarendon Press), 1892, pp. x + 516; p. 19. D. Irving, 'Hist. Scot. Poetry,' pp. 427-36.

[10] Ernst Regel, 'Englische Studien,' xvi., pp. 423-5, a review of G. Aitken, *op. cit.*

[11] "David Guthre of Kincaldrum" was presumably the eldest son of the Laird of Guthrie (see Paul, 'Scots Peerage,' ii., p. 322), who had married Katherine, eldest daughter of John Arbuthnot of Arbuthnot (*d.* 1531). "William Guthre of Halkertoun," whose testament is dated 6th June 1583 (Grant, 'Commissariot Record'), was no doubt a relative, possibly a son, of the Alexander Guthrie of Halkartoune who figures among the Ministers and Commissioners at the first meeting of the General Assembly (20th December 1560) as representing Forfar ('Book of the Universall Kirk,' 1839, p. 1). Halkerton borders on the parish of Arbuthnot. The Guthries were not only neighbours, but also probably relatives, of the Lairds of Arbuthnot (Paul, 'Scots Peerage,' pp. 184 and 279). "William Rynd of Carse," who acted on behalf of Angus and the Mearns among the "brethen appoyntit [by the General Assembly on 14th April 1576] to make ane overture of the policie and jurisdiction of the Kirk" ('Privy Council Reg.' ii., p. 545, and 'Bk. Univ. Kirk,' p. 100), was related to the Arbuthnots of Arbuthnot, because we know that David, brother of the John Arbuthnot just mentioned, married at the beginning of the sixteenth century "Christian Rhind of Carse" (Paul, *op. cit.*, i., 279). There was in 1540 a "James Arbuthnot of Lentusche" (Kincardine), whose three sons migrated in 1560 to Inverugie, Aberdeenshire, and who was the ancestor of Arbuthnot the Wit; *cp.* also 1592, "Jac Arbuthnocht de Lentuiche," No. 2221 'Reg. Magn. Sig.'

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James Balfour Paul's long and patiently constructed genealogies, we had concluded that our Alexander Arbuthnet *may* have been the fourth son of John Arbuthnot (*d.* before February 4, 1576) [12] and therefore the grandson of David Arbuthnot and Christian Rhind of Carse (see note 3), and we have since been cheered to find that Mrs P. S.-M. Arbuthnot [13] has arrived at the same conclusion. But the family of Arbuthnot of that ilk was a large one—"the good laird" Robert (*d.* 1579) had eighteen children.[14] On the one hand, there is little in the genealogies to guide us save names, perhaps mere coincidences, and such approximate dates of birth and death as may be deduced from the chance mention of these names in legal documents; and on the other hand we can only guess at Arbuthnet's age. He cannot therefore be said to have been identified except as *an* Arbuthnot of Arbuthnot. When a scion of that house (whose crest is the peacock) took to printing, there was a certain appropriateness in selecting a little-known old Scots translation of 'Les Vœux du Paon,' relating the deeds of Alexander, whose name he bore. How he had come by his "copy," [15] not mentioned in any document extant to-day, may or may not be connected with the fact that, like other members of the family,[16] the printer had associations with the city which lies some thirty miles north

[12] 'Scots Peerage,' i., p. 280.

[13] 'Memories of the Arbuthnots of Kincardineshire and Aberdeenshire' (London, 1918 or 1919), pp. 530; p. 89, "John Arbuthnot . . . of Legasland, eldest son of David Arbuthnot and Christian Rhind . . . married Christian Fraser of Durris, and died in January 1573-4, having had by her five sons, as follows . . . IV. Alexander, probably identical with the printer," &c.

[14] Aitken, p. 174.

[15] The Edinburgh MS. [E] of the 'Bruce' belonged in the sixteenth century to the Burnets of Leys (Aberdeenshire).

[16] Philip de Arbuthnott, *dominus ejusdem*, granted (25th April 1355) to the Carmelite Friars of Aberdeen, for the well-being of his own soul and the souls of his parents and friends, an annual rent of 13s. 4d. out

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of Arbuthnot, and which is the home of Barbour's 'Bruce' and, as we shall show, of the 'Buik.' He possessed property in Aberdeen.[17]

CHAPTER II.: THE FRENCH ORIGINALS.

§ 6. The 'Roman d'Alixandre: Li Fuerres de Gadres.'

The two French poems of which the 'Buik' is a translation are component parts of the 'Roman d'Alixandre,' which comprises at least four "Branches." These "Branches" were originally distinct poems by separate authors and were subsequently welded by various hands into a certain unity. The subject-matter was provided almost wholly by the fabulous history of Alexander composed by the Pseudo-Callisthenes, as transmitted in two Latin versions—that made by Julius Valerius before A.D. 340, and the epitome thereof, which was more generally used.[1] To this "matter" the successive authors

of his lands of Aberdeen, for repairing the fabric of their church. The donation was confirmed on 17th August 1365 by charter of David II.—J. Balfour Paul, 'Scots Peerage,' i., p. 276.

[17] "In 1569 Alexander Arbuthnot, burgess of Edinburgh, gave sasine of some land in Aberdeen to Robert Arbuthnot of that ilk and Helen Clephane. In 1575 he acquired land in the Gallowgate there, resigned by Gilbert Anderson. In the same year he and his wife, Agnes Pennycuik, got sasine of land in the Thiefraw, Aberdeen."—Mrs P. S.-M. Arbuthnot, *op. cit.*, p. 89. For "Archibald Senȝour," the name of Arbuthnet's surety when he first came before the Assembly in 1575, cp. 'Reg. Magn. Sig.,' No. 843, A.D. 1553: "Senȝeour, Archibald burgess de Abirdene."

[1] Fragments of the biography of Alexander by the real Callisthenes, his contemporary, are preserved by Polybius, Strabo, and Plutarch. The Pseudo-Callisthenes, so-called by the scholars of the Renaissance, composed his romance, probably *c.* A.D. 200, at Alexandria. The epitome of Julius Valerius' version, made in the ninth century, was widely read, and, being used by Vincent de Beauvais in his 'Speculum Historiale' (1264), became the chief source of the early conceptions of

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of the French Romance added little, but they made Alexander a mediæval knight, surrounded by twelve Peers, such as Aristotle, and they extolled him as the "father of chivalry," all-conquering, large-hearted, sublimely generous in rewarding faithful service with *largesse* and in conciliating the vanquished foe.

With the First [2] Branch, the Youth of Alexander, and the Fourth,[3] the Death of Alexander, the Scottish translation is not concerned. The Second Branch,[4] apparently the most recent of the four, is entitled 'Li Fuerres de Gadres.' Composed by an "Eustache," but rehandled and incorporated in the whole Romance by Alexandre de Paris, a native of Bernay, it is a poem complete in itself; it was often copied by scribes, and referred to by early writers, as a unity. It describes, firstly,[5] an unhistorical episode in the Siege of Tyre to which alone the title strictly applies, the foraging expedition led by Emenidus to the Vale of Josaphas; and, secondly,[6] a subsequent and very similar incident (in which the Greeks are attacked by the Duke of Naman and, once again, rescued by Alexander), the Siege of Gaza, the capture of Tyre (which Alexander, leaping from a wooden siege-tower, was the first to enter), his welcome to Jerusalem and his departure therefrom in pursuit of Darius.

Alexander; see J. Zacher, 'Pseudocallisthenes: Forschungen zur Kritik und Geschichte der ältesten Aufzeichnung der Alexandersage,' Halle, 1867, pp. viii+193; p. 102. Carraroli, 'La Leggenda di Alessandro Magno,' Mondovi, 1892, pp. 375; pp. 34, 67, 73, 84-8.

[2] Ed. Michelant, pp. 1-92. The First Branch is not the oldest, being prefixed as an afterthought, to describe the early days of Alexander, his exploits in the first war against Darius, the capture of Tarsus, and the beginning of the siege of Tyre.

[3] Ed. Mich., pp. 506-50. The Fourth Branch, largely by Alexandre de Paris, incorporating the work of Lambert le Tort and of Pierre de Saint-Cloud, both of whom wrote before 1190, describes Alexander's untimely end, his burial, and the lamentations of his Twelve Peers.

[4] Mich., pp. 93-231.

[5] Mich., pp. 93-190.

[6] Mich., pp. 190-231.

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The first episode, the 'Foray' proper, formed in the Second Branch an independent [7] section, one of the most famous in the vast Romance. Eustache de Kent, probably in the middle of the thirteenth century, inserted it, with the rest of the Second Branch, in his 'Roman de toute Chevalerie,' the source of the earliest English poems on Alexander; [8] it is mentioned in 'Guillaume le Maréchal,' [9] (1221-25) and 'Girart de Roussillon,' [10] (1330-34); a fourteenth century Latin translation of it still exists, apparently in Boccaccio's handwriting; [11] and it was selected by the Scottish translator for Part I. of his 'Buik.'

The erstwhile fame of 'Li Fuerres' need not surprise us to-day. The iron souls of the Middle Age found a stern delight in these individual encounters, in which the technical detail satisfied the knightly connoisseur, and the action followed a well-worn recipe, true to life and of unfailing interest. One knight, "A," tilts at another, "B." Such was the fury of that charge that A.'s spear (or battle-axe, sword, mace) was bent (broken, splintered, torn from his grasp), and B.'s helmet (breastplate, arm, leg, shoulder,

[7] In subject-matter, and in the fact that it is copied separately—*e.g.* in MS. V.

[8] P. Meyer, 'Alex. le Grand,' ii., p. 285. Carraroli, pp. 231-2.

[9] P. Meyer, ibid., p. 240:

"Li Mareschals i fiert e maille
Si cum le feufres [=fevres] sor le fer.
Unkes ne quit ke Gadefer
Des Larriz, qui tant out enor,
Feïst tant d'armes en un jor." (1002).

When the troops of Henri II. were hard pressed by Philip-Augustus and a knight offered to ride to the King for help, he was taunted thus:

"Ahi! Ahi!
Com fu grant dels e grant damage
Qu' Eumenidus n'out tel message
Com vos estes a son bosoing." (8444).

[10] P. Meyer, ibid., p. 239: "Puis le feivres de gordres ne fut si fiers veü."

[11] Edited by P. Meyer, 'Rom.,' xi., pp. 325-32.

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steed) was grazed (gashed, pierced, crushed, cloven, broken), and B or (and) A. was (were) flung to the ground. And hard would it have gone with B. or (and) A., had it not been that C., a friend, came galloping up, or that D., a foe, fighting near by, was unable (unwilling) to intervene, whereupon C. engaged D. . . . and so *ad infinitum*, together with epic descriptions of the confused fighting, the surge and din of battle, the mighty blows resounding on helm or breastplate, the leaders' brave speeches, the cries or cheers of their men, some dismayed, others as joyful as Lord Macaulay's Tuscans, to see the red blood flow. The actual havoc wrought is very small. Heroes must not prematurely quit the animated scene, for their presence is manifestly required at a later stage in the Romance, and when at length they die, they are lamented by their adversaries as the bravest of the brave. Such is the "matter" of the 'Foray'—as of many another epic.

But what appealed so forcibly to the mediæval imagination was the plight of Emenidus and his small band of forayers suddenly faced by an entire army, the successive refusal of each knight to ride away for help and leave his fellows in mortal peril, Aristé's final acceptance of the distasteful mission and his arrival before Alexander with hideous wounds, the steadfast bravery of Emenidus and Gadifer's heroic death.

§ 7. 'Les Vœux du Paon.'

The Third Branch,[1] by Lambert le Tort, is the oldest and also the fullest. It tells of the defeat and death of Darius, how Alexander descended to the bottom of the

[1] Mich., pp. 249-446.

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sea, what marvels he saw there and what in the desert, how he vanquished Porus in India and how he captured Babylon. At this point a long episode[2] was added, in the thirteenth century, by another hand.[3] When Alexander was returning from the Conquest of Babylon, he met a solitary knight, and thus addressed him—

> " Amis, dites moi voir, par vostre creatour,
> Dont venés, que querés, ki sont vostre ancissour ? "

The knight replied that he was Gratien, driven from Chaldæa by Melcis the wicked duke, and seeking for Alexander the Good; and when he learnt that the speaker was Alexander, flung himself at his feet and implored his aid. Alexander consented to march against Melcis. On the fifth day he appeared before the city of Dedefur and crossed the river by a secret ford, which Gratien had pointed out. The lord of that city had lately died, and left two sons, Dauris and Floridas, to reign in his stead. They, to win renown, resolved to issue forth on the morrow at dawn and assail Alexander's host, and, having been joined in the night by Duke Melcis, they fought, Dauris with Gratien, and Floridas with Emenidus, till Floridas was taken and delivered to Alexander. Dauris having captured Cliton, an exchange of captives was made. In the "great battle" which ensued, Gratien slew Melcis, Dauris and Floridas were discomfited, and their city was taken. But Alexander the Large entreated them kindly, gave Dauris the hand of Escavie, the dead duke's daughter, who had long loved him in secret, and, having settled

[2] The Melcis episode is printed in Michelant, pp. 459-83, under the erroneous title 'Fuers de Gadres,' and pp. 484-90, as part of the 'Prise de Defur.'

[3] P. Meyer, 'Al. le Gr.,' ii., p. 214.

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Dauris in Dedefur and taken Floridas into his own service, he proceeded on his way to Tarsus.

Of this episode 'Les Vœux du Paon' is an offshoot, and in part an imitation. To the 'Roman d'Alixandre'—itself formed by various accretions and not finally rounded off till between 1288 and 1308, by Jehan de Nevelois' 'Vengeance d'Alixandre'—the writers of the more sophisticated fourteenth century added imaginative tales of more conscious art, grafting on the old epic stock, which was rooted in "history," stories of their own invention. The first of these later poets was Jacques de Longuyon, who, at the instance of Thiébaut de Bar, Bishop of Liège, composed, about 1310,[4] a tale beginning where the Melcis episode ends.

Jacques de Longuyon was no doubt a "jongleur,"[5] of better education and status than the ordinary wandering minstrel, and, after reading or reciting the 'Roman d'Alixandre' for years, he decided to put his own hand to the pen, and wrote 'Les Vœux du Paon'—not necessarily for inclusion in the whole Romance, although it

[4] Thiébaut, son of Thiébaut II., Comte de Bar, was Bishop of Liège from 1303 till his death [at Rome, 29th May 1312]. In the colophon of 'V. P.,' found only in MS. W, mention is made of his death and of that of the Emperor Henry VII. [24th August 1313]. From the fact that a copy of 'V. P.' was bought on 9th September 1313 for Countess Mahaut d'Artois, it has been assumed that, since her copy could not well contain an allusion to so recent an event as Henry's death, 'V. P.' must have existed in two separate redactions, of which she bought the first. See Bonnardot, 'Rom.,' xxiv., pp. 580-1, and the work of our former student, Dr Frank T. H. Fletcher, 'Étude sur la Langue des Vœux du Paon' (Presses Universitaires de France), 1924, pp. xxiv+184, for the bibliography and discussion of the date, &c., and also the Introduction to our Vol. iii.

[5] Dr Fletcher finds, from exhaustive researches in the charters of Nancy, a chronologically possible "Jacques de Longuyon" recorded in the person of a rural dean, "Jacques doyen de la chrétienté de Longuyon," who is mentioned in 1304 and 1309. but he concludes (p. 19) that the author of 'V. P.' was not an ecclesiastic, though he may have merited neither the contemptuous appellation of "léger compagnon" nor the alleged connection with the town of Avesnes (Nord) bestowed on him at a later date by the censorious Philippe de Mézières (see *infra*, § 9, *n.* 8).

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often was included therein by scribes. The poet's indebtedness to the Melcis episode is considerable. It gives him a starting-point, a background, some of his chief characters, and even some of his phraseology.[6] Taking up the tale at the point where Alexander, having slain Melcis and captured Dedefur, was on his way to Tarsus, Jacques supposes him to meet an old knight, Cassamus, who, though his brother had been slain by Alexander's lieutenant Emenidus in the great Foray, now implored help against wicked King Clarus. Alexander turned aside in his march to save Cassamus' niece and two nephews, who lay beleaguered in Epheson. The relief of that city, protected by a mighty river which could be crossed by a ford known only to Cassamus, provides the canvas for a singularly attractive picture of fourteenth century chivalry.

§ 8. Character of 'Les Vœux du Paon.'

The framework is as in the Melcis episode, and the material as in the 'Foray': slaughter, wondrous escapes, and joustings. But Jacques de Longuyon, the representative of an age grown debonair, is less in earnest than the martial authors of the old Romance. For him a grievous wound is an unhappy accident. His leeches mend compound fractures of tibia or femur with a gentlemanly and instantaneous skill; and when the accident proves fatal—as it does but rarely, and then only to end a tale that is told—both sides in the fray show genuine

[6] Especially in the opening "laisses"; cp. the proper names "Famuel," "Samuel" (Mich., p. 474, l. 18), and phrases like "Que ja deça le flum n'ert sa targe mostrée" (Mich., p. 462, l. 24).

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distress. Over the grimmer features of the older epic he casts a glamour of courtly charm and cheery optimism, while the swing of the rollicking verse, the frank absurdity of a metaphor, or some highly improbable assonance, leaves little doubt that the tongue of Jacques de Longuyon was not infrequently in his cheek. Moreover, he adds to his story of Alexander's further adventures at least three fresh elements, which account for the extraordinary fame of his poem in his own day, and invest it with a charm for the modern reader which is seldom paralleled in early French literature.

Firstly, ladies are present on the battlements, watching with practised eye the knightly skill and, with beating heart, the swaying fortunes of the brave who combat for the fair—three winsome ladies of the olden time, each with a way of her own and an individuality rare among the colourless heroines of the epic past. And to their bower in leaguered Epheson comes, in all honour, a noble captive from the fray below for a friendly game of chess, or great Alexander himself to cheer the disconsolate maidens and discourse of love and peace, for after war, he truly says, comes peace—and sometimes a handsome husband. The siege of Epheson has many a pleasing interlude, as also had no doubt the feudal combats of the nobility in Lorraine; it savours more of tournament than of war, and gives a picturesque setting for scenes of social life as they were enacted in the stately castles visited by Minstrel Jacques, and for the love story of three damsels, who, were the secrets of all hearts revealed, might well prove to be great ladies for whom he sang.[1]

[1] Names somewhat similar occur in the family of Godefroi de Bouillon (Bouillon being near Liège and Godefroi a Lorrainer by his mother; hence perhaps his inclusion among Jacques de Longuyon's Nine Worthies). In the 'Généalogie des Comtes de Boulogne' (on Fo. 216

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Secondly, when Bishop Thiébaut de Bar suggested the story, he no doubt suggested as well the incident which gives it its title and much of its piquancy. The prowess of the heroes in the Great Battle of Epheson is in fulfilment of vows they made to a peacock. We know that the bishop was interested in 'Vows,' because he inspired also the similar 'Vœux de l'Épervier.'[2] Boasting and the taking of high vows by knights was assuredly no new thing, for it has its roots in human nature, and it played

of I), reproduced in toto by Paulin Paris, 'Les MSS. fr. de la Bibliothèque du Roi,' Paris (Techener), 1836-48, 7 vols., Vol. iii., pp. 201-8, and also in the Genealogy concocted *c.* 1268 by the monk of Saint-Tron, who devoted his attentions to the glory of the Crusaders of Artois, Picardy, and Flanders (P. Paris, ibid., vi., pp. 172 and 193), the names Idain (and Mahaut) are frequent; Godefroi's mother was *Idain*, alias Ida, daughter of *Elias*, "Chevalier au Cygne." Among the songs of Audefroi le Bastart is one beginning, 'Bele *Ydoine* se siet desous la verde olive.' P. Paris, ibid., vi., p. 67.

[2] Published by G. Wolfram and F. Bonnardot, pp. 177-280 of the 'Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für lothringische Geschichte und Altertumskunde,' Metz (G. Scriba), Vol. vi., 1894 [also, separately, Metz, 1895, 104 pp.] The title is modern; the poem contains only 562 lines. The author was possibly (according to G. Wolfram, 'La Chronique messine de Jaique Dex,' Metz, Scriba, 1906, pp. xxxiv.-vii.) Simon de Marville, near Longuyon, who was Treasurer of the Cathedral Chapter at Metz, and died before 1326. The poem is inspired by 'V. P.,' from which it borrows numerous lines. It relates that when the Emperor Henry VII. (of Luxembourg) was at Milan [where he arrived on 23rd December 1310], his brother "Le Walerant" stumbled on entering the Palace and thus allowed his sparrow-hawk to escape. It flew to the table where Henry VII. was seated with his friends, who included Bishop Thiébaut, his relative and counsellor. The Bishop alluded to 'V. P.' and suggested that the company should vow to the sparrow-hawk. The vows refer, as in the future, to events which the poet, writing after 1312, knew to have taken place. The poem describes also a dream in which Henry sees himself killed by one of his favourite black-and-white hounds, the allusion being to the black-and-white habit of the Dominicans (domini canes), by whom Henry is (erroneously) said in 'V. P.' to have been poisoned.

Henry VII., although purely German, spent most of his youth at Paris and spoke nothing but French, even the accounts of his household being kept in French. The suspicion of poison referred to in 'V. P.' was long prevalent; the allegation was that the communion chalice had been poisoned and, some added, at the instigation of Philippe le Bel, who was jealous of Henry as Emperor; thirty years later a friar was accused of the crime, and John of Luxembourg felt impelled to intervene in his favour by a written statement. See E. Welvert, 'Philippe Le Bel et la Maison de Luxembourg,' Bibl. de l'École des Chartes, Vol. xlv. (1884), pp. 180-8. The alleged poisoning is mentioned by the Canon of Bridlington, 'Chron. Edw. I. and II.,' Rolls Ser., Vol. ii. (1883), p. 44, and in 'Scalacronica,' p. 135.

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its part in French literature from 'Le Pèlerinage de Charlemagne' onwards. But this vowing to a bird of mystic or heraldic significance to perform some high deed became a knightly custom in the early fourteenth century. It appears to have originated in Lorraine, and we believe that its sudden fame was due to the family of Bar and probably to Bishop Thiébaut's own personal initiative, for this reason. When Edward I., who was not without some of the foibles of French chivalry, was moved to wrath by the murder of Comyn and the Coronation of the Bruce, he held a great assembly at Westminster, May 22, 1306, and, the doors of the hall being opened, a seneschal entered, marshalling two attendants who bore upon a large tray two swans covered with a network of gold. Edward I., then in the last year of his life, vowed to God and the Swans that he would march into Scotland and chastise the Bruce, while Edward, Prince of Wales, who had been knighted by his father that day with nearly three hundred others, took a similar vow.[3] It is not surprising to find this rite thus honoured at Edward's French-speaking Court, where, moreover, three days later, Jean de Warenne married the king's grand-daughter, daughter of Henri de Bar, Bishop Thiébaut's half-brother. Also, Edward I. held his relative the bishop in high esteem. This we know from a truly remarkable event in history, the excommunication of no less a personage than the Archbishop of Canterbury. Though Thiébaut was already well provided for, in his own country with a canonry at Liège and in England

[3] Triveti 'Annales' (Eng. Hist. Soc., 1845, p. 408). The incident is referred to by Patrick Fraser Tytler, 'Lives of Scottish Worthies' (Murray), 1831, Vol. i., pp. x+416, ii. x+322; Vol. i., p. 333; also, by Lord Hailes (Sir David Dalrymple), 'Annals of Scotland,' Edinburgh, 1776, Vol. ii., p. 454.

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with the treasurership of York and a prebend at Lincoln, Edward presented him to the rectory of Pagham in Sussex, which had fallen vacant when the see of Canterbury itself was vacant—*i.e.*, between the death of Archbishop Peckham in 1292 and the consecration of his successor, Winchelsey, in 1294. Winchelsey refused to accept the king's nominee. Thiébaut appealed to the Pope, with the result that in 1301 the Archbishop of Canterbury found himself under sentence of excommunication.[4] It was no doubt Thiébaut who suggested the strange ceremony to Edward as a local custom of Bar.[5] It was certainly he who suggested it as a literary device to Jacques de Longuyon. In so doing he provided the poem with a setting which appealed to the imagination of all, and brought the knights of Alexander into line with the most recent practice of chivalry.

Thirdly, Jacques de Longuyon, by a stroke of genius, interpolated in his work an Excursus on the Nine Worthies, which secured both their immortality and that of his own poem. The idea of "listing" the noblest men and women who ever lived was not a novel one. It inspired a Latin poem in the eleventh century; it was latent in mediæval tradition,[6] and probably existed in popular

[4] 'Chron. Edw. I.' &c. Rolls Series, Vol. i. (1882), Preface, pp. xxxiv.-v. and p. 146 ('Annales Londinii'). The relationship between Edward I. and Bishop Thiébaut was that Edward's third daughter, Eleanor, was the wife of Henri Count of Bar, Thiébaut's half-brother.

[5] It appears also in 'V. P.' as "the custom of the land"; "Il m'est vis" (says Cassamus), "C'on doit faire au paön l'usage du pays" (iii., 3910.) Naturally the "Vows to the Swan" would appeal to the guests from Lorraine assembled for the marriage of the Comte de Bar's daughter ('Langtoft, R. S.,' p. 368) and to various other personages of lower degree, such as "Mahu qui est ove la dammoiselle de Baar," who figures with the minstrels paid for their services at the knighting of the Prince of Wales that day. The list is printed as Appendix C., p. 234, Vol ii., of Sir E. K. Chambers' 'Mediæval Stage.' Clarendon Press, 1903.

[6] The fullest and best account of the Nine Worthies as a literary theme, before and after 'V. P.,' is that given by Professor Sir Israel

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song. But he brought it out from that dim world, gave it a definite form—Nine Men, Three Pagans, Three Jews, Three Christians,—and recounted their deeds in adequate verse, which rapidly spread through France and Europe. The vogue of the Nine Worthies in literature, art, and pageant dates from 'Les Vœux du Paon.' If there be

> "Nine, crownéd, be very exemplair
> Of all honour longing to chivalry,
> And those, certain, be called the nine worthy," [7]

if courtier poets endeavoured for centuries to add their master's name to the Noble Nine,[8] and composed, with singular lack of unanimity, a sister list of Nine Noble Women, and if there were pageants of Worthies at Arras in 1336,[9] and in London till modern times (one with Henry VIII. as an unworthy Tenth [10])—the unseen master of the revels was Jacques de Longuyon.

Gollancz in the Preface and Appendix to his edition of the 'Parlement of the Thre Ages' (Oxford Press), 1915, first printed for the Roxburghe Club in 1897. He shows very clearly the capital rôle played by 'V. P.,' and stresses the fact that the subject possessed a special attraction for the poets of the North of England and Scotland. Professor Gollancz's work contains the bibliography of the subject, to which may now be added an article by Loomis, 'Modern Philology,' xv., August 1917, and an important work on the 'Nine Worthies' in art and literature, and on the whole Literature of Vows arising out of 'V. P.,' to be published shortly by Miss Aileen A. Calderwood, who has kindly allowed us to cull from her extensive collection several of the facts adduced hereafter in this chapter.

[7] "The Flower and the Leaf," long attributed to Chaucer.

[8] Those who have figured as the Tenth include Pierre de Lusignan, Bayard, Du Guesclin, Francis I., Henry IV. of England, Henry VI. and Henry VII., Guy of Warwick, and, as will be shown later, Robert the Bruce. The Nine Men (*les Preux*) remained largely as in 'V. P.'; the enumeration of the various Nine Women (*les Preuses*) we leave to Miss Calderwood.

[9] P. Meyer, 'Bull. de la Société des Anc. Textes' (1883), p. 44. Other instances are: Paris 1431, entry of Henry VI.; Caen 1532, entry of Francis I.

[10] Strutt, 'Sports and Pastimes of the People of England.' London, 1834, p. xliii.

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§ 9. Celebrity of 'Les Vœux du Paon.'

Whether for these three reasons, or for others as well, 'Les Vœux du Paon' rapidly obtained a wide popularity.[1] It was copied on an unusual scale, if we may judge from the very large number of MSS. preserved. It was translated into the chief languages of Western Europe,[2] occasioned quaint ceremonies of picturesque chivalry, became the subject of heraldic devices and tapestries innumerable, and inspired generation after generation of artists, sculptors and engravers from the early fourteenth century to the present day.[3] In France it gave rise to a whole literature —'Vows,' notably in the region of Metz,[4] and sequels to the tale[5]—it was imitated,[6] and even parodied,[7] and

[1] 'Peu de poèmes du moyen âge ont obtenu un succès comparable.' P. Meyer, 'Al. le Gr.,' ii., p. 268; 'malgré le peu d'attrait qu'il nous offre (!) . . . l'immense succès qu'il a obtenu et les diverses questions qu'il soulève. . .' G. Paris, 'Rom.,' xxiii., p 82, *n.*

[2] Spanish: Carraroli, *op. cit.*, p. 225, mentions 'Los Votos del Paon.' Dutch: fragment, 'Roman van Cassamus,' ed. Eelco Verwijs, Groningen, 1869, xxviii+94 pp.; see also 'Heidelb. Jahrbuch' (1869), pp. 924-6; Jan te Winkel, 'Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche Letterkunde,' Haarlem (Bohn), 1887, i., pp. 115-6; Louis D. Petit, 'Bibliographie der middelnederlandsche Taal-en Letterkunde,' Leiden (Brill), 1888, pp. xvi+298, p. 45; English: Cambridge MS. (see Introd. to our Vol. iii.).

[3] Virgil Solis, Albrecht Dürer, &c., enumerated in Miss Calderwood's work. From about 1480 the Preux and the Preuses appeared on playing cards. In modern times 'V. P.,' known through the account given in La Curne de Ste Palaye's 'Mémoires sur l'ancienne Chevalerie,' has inspired artists. In the Royal Academy Exhibition of 1835 the painter Daniel Maclise (who decorated St Stephen's and the House of Lords) exposed a picture entitled "Vow on the Peacock" (one Knight taking the vow is the Comte d'Orsay!), and the catalogue refers expressly to Ste Palaye. Lempereur engraved, after Stevens, "Les Vœux du Paon."

[4] See Fletcher, *op. cit.*, pp. 8-9.

[5] The 'Restor du Paon' and the 'Parfait du Paon' (see Introd. to our Vol. iii.) and 'Perceforest' (see *infra*, § 9, *n.* 13).

[6] Vows occur in the 'Vengeance d'Alixandre' and 'Gaydon,' which are older than 'V. P.,' and in 'Hugues Capet,' which is perhaps contemporary. The other 'Vows' are clear imitations of 'V. P.' 'Le Dit des Mais,' edited by Jubinal, 'Nouveau Recueil de Contes, Dits et Fabliaux des XIIIe, XIVe et XVe siècles,' pp. 181-194, contains (pp. 187 and 188) reflections on unfulfilled vows like those made at the celebrated 'Banquet du Faisan,' given by Philippe le Bon, Duke of Burgundy, to the Burgundian nobility, 17th February 1454. Vows to the Peacock play a great part in the 'Roman de Cleriadus et de Méliadice, fille au roy

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d'Angleterre,' British Museum: MS. Roy. 20 C. ii. Art. I. [On Fo. 119 is a small, delicately drawn miniature of the presentation. Three damsels kneel before the well-laden table where the royal pair are seated; a fourth advances bearing the peacock on a charger]. There are two early printed editions of this prose romance: one of 1495, preserved in a unique copy (see Brunet, 'Manuel,' ii. (1861), p. 106, Art. 17028), and one of 1514, in the Bibliothèque Nationale. The ceremony of presentation and the Vows to the Peacock are described in full at the end of chapter xxxviii., in the 1514 edition.

The romance is mentioned by Graesse, *op. cit.*, p. 249, and analysed in Ward's 'Catalogue of Romances,' i. (1883), pp. 383-4.

The sixteenth century Scottish version 'Clariodus' (*c.* 1550) was published in 1830 by the Maitland Club.

Vows to the Peacock are the *pièce de résistance* in the farrago of historical and literary reminiscences of the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, entitled 'Histoire des trois nobles fils de Rois' (alias 'Histoire Royale' and 'Chronique de Naples'), which David Aubert, Librarian to Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, transcribed in 1463: see Doutrepont, 'La Littérature fr. à la cour des ducs de Bourgogne,' Paris (Champion), 1909, lxviii+544 pp., p. 51. The plot, if it may be dignified by that name, we reproduce here (minus some of its absurdities) from the earliest printed edition, 'Le Liure des troys Filz de roys,' Lyon (Jehan de Vingle), 1501, because it bears on the origins of our 'Buik' in connection with David II. (see *infra*, § 43).

The three kings' sons are Philip of France, David of Scotland, and Auffroy [Humphrey in the English translation]. The King of Sicily (whose daughter is Yolente) implores the aid of Christendom against the Turks. Philip sets off alone without the permission or knowledge of his father, King Charles, and incognito as "le despourveu." With the aid of Ferrant, Seneschal to the King of Sicily, he captures Fierabras, brother of the Grand Turk, and receives from Yolente a new name, "le surnommé." A combined force is sent by the Kings of England, Scotland and France under the supreme command of David, "filz du roy descoce," accompanied by the Earls of Douglas and Buchan. The ships, arriving before "Gayette," are wrecked in a tempest, the sole survivors being David and Douglas. David, being captured by the Turks, takes the name of "Athis." After being set at liberty by Orkai, son of the Grand Turk, David joins Philip and Ferrant, distinguishes himself by his bravery, and captures—and releases—Orkai. Auffroy of England is also captured on arrival, assumes the name of "Ector," and ultimately joins Philip. The Turks then besiege the King of Sicily in Naples. In a sortie Philip is captured, but rescued by Ferrant, Auffroy and David. In honour of the three kings' sons, and of Orkai their prisoner, the King of Sicily gives a banquet, at which vows to the Peacock are made by all. [The ceremonial is fully described, Fos. lix^{v} and lxi of the 1501 edition; pp. 136-37, E.E.T.S.] The Turks, hearing of these brave vows, are seized with panic, at once raise the siege, and are pursued and slain. The King of Sicily is elected Emperor of Germany, and crowned at Milan, and the three kings' sons, having captured "Gayette," return home to prepare for a great tournament at Naples next May, in which the prize will be the emperor's daughter, Yolente. When all three, having by their fathers' death become kings, return to Naples for the tournament, David distinguishes himself, but Philip is the victor and wins the fair Yolente, while David and Orkai marry each a sister of Auffroy, King of England.

This wildly improbable tale, with its constant capture and release of prisoners and its vowing to the Peacock, visibly imitates Jacques de

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Longuyon in his least happy moments. Its treatment of history is so fantastic that M. Doutrepont, *op. cit.*, p. 51, refrains from drawing any conclusions. But it seems to us obvious that the personages have historical prototypes, however freely treated and with whatever chronological inexactitude. To specify the only case which concerns us here, "David" can be none other than the friend and protégé of Philip VI. of France and Edward III. of England—David II., who travelled beyond the sea; was captured, with a Douglas (at Neville's Cross), and ultimately released; rode in tournaments (see *infra*, § 43, *n.* 1); was present with the Kings of England and France at the celebrated tournament at Windsor in 1357 (Monk of St Albans, Rolls Ser., 1874, p. 38), and appeared in London in 1364 with the Kings of France and Cyprus "et rex quidam paganorum," as the chroniclers think it important to record, *e.g.*, "Vita Edw. II." in 'Chron. Edw. I.' (Rolls Ser., 1883, p. 150); married the King of England's sister, and, with the Earl of Douglas' approval, selected to succeed him on the Scottish throne the third son of Edward III., Lionel, who married Yolande at Milan in 1368, Froissart being with Lionel at the splendid ceremony (see *infra*, § 41, *n.* 14); and was preparing an expedition against the Infidel when death seized him in 1370. These facts were no doubt perfectly well-known at the Burgundian Court, the library of Philippe le Bon containing, *e.g.*, 'La Vraie Cronique d'Escoce' (Doutrepont, pp. 411-12). The connecting link between the historical characters thus travestied is no doubt that most of them figure in Froissart's animated pages and had traditional associations with the practice of vowing (see, *e.g.*, *supra*, § 8, *n.* 2, and *infra*, § 43).

The romance attained a vogue comparable to that of Clariodus—witness the numerous MSS. and the many editions printed from 1501 to 1579. See Brunet, 'Manuel,' iii. (1862), p. 1126. A literal prose translation in English is contained in MS. Harley 326 (*c.* 1500: see the account in Ward's 'Catalogue,' i., pp. 782-83, to which we may add that the MS. is finely copied and that its twenty-two miniatures are excellent; in particular, the representation of the wreck of David's ship is uncommonly vivid). The English version was published for the E.E.T.S., Vol. i., 1895, ed. Furnivall. The second volume by L. Kellner, which was to contain the French text and a discussion of the sources, was apparently never published.

[7] British Museum, MS. Royal 20 A. xvii: 50 lines, beginning:

'A l'entrée de may, qu'ivers va a declin'

and containing several other lines borrowed or parodied from 'V. P.' and ending

'Thomas de Bailloel fist ce bien pres de Seclin' (near Lille)

It describes a mock "great battle" which was stopped by a pilgrim with a goblet of wine (see Ward, 'Cat. Rom.,' i., 880-3, and Introd. to our Vol. iii.).

[8] Philippe de Mézières, 'Songe du vielz Pelerin adréciant au blanc Faulcon,' iii., ch. 52 (quoted by Doutrepont, *op. cit.*, pp. 295-6), speaking by the mouth of Vérité, says:

"Te dois délecter en lire ou oyr les anciennes histoires pour ton enseignement . . . Tu te dois garder de toi trop délecter ès livres qui sont appellez apocrifes, et par espécial des livres et des romans qui sont remplis de bourdes, et qui attraient le lisant souvent à impossibilité, à folie, à vanité et péchié, se comme le livre des bourdes de Lancellot et semblables, comme les bourdes du Vœu du Paon qui naguères furent composés par un legier compaignon, dicteur de chansons et de virelais qui estoit de la ville d'Avaisnes."

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as late as 1389 its popularity was held by Philippe de Mézières to be distracting the young from serious reading.[8] Froissart in his poetry, which Chaucer read and whereof the one and only theme is love—perfect love and the perfect lover, — makes few allusions to Old French Romances, but he does not forget the lovers "Cassiel" and "Porrus."

In England it was well known. Lydgate refers to it by name.[9] Its theme had soon spread from literature to art [10] and ordinary life, for in 1364, at Lynn, when Robert Braunche the Mayor died, a brass representing the "Feast of the Peacock" was placed upon his tomb in St Margaret's Church.[11] But for 'Les Vœux du Paon,' there would have been most certainly no 'Vœux du Héron,' and, if legend speaks true, no Hundred Years' War [12]

[8] 'Poésies,' ed. Scheler, Brussels, 1870, -71, -72, 3 vols., Vol. i., lxxv+407 pp. The 'Paredys d'Amours,' pp. 1-52 (probably composed during Froissart's stay in England and imitated in Chaucer's 'Duchesse'), counts among the famous lovers

"Lancelos, Tristans, Lyonnel,
Porrus, le Baudrain Cassiel,"
Paris, etc. (ll. 2307-9).

In his 'Temple d'Amour' (pp. 162-193 of Vol. ii.) the Nine Worthies figure largely, ll. 929-55, as also in the Prologue to his 'Chroniques.'

[10] Lydgate in his poem on "The Prospect of Peace" (*i.e.*, the truce of 1444) says:

King Alisaundre put Darye down
In Perce and Meede, the crowne whan he chees;
Vowes of the Pecock the Ffrensh makith mencioun
Pride of the Werrys, most contrary unto pees.

Whether Lydgate knew 'V. P.' from hearsay, or by a copy in England, or by copies he may have seen in France, is not clear. But in 1426 he was on a mission in Paris with Bedford. In 1423 Bedford had caused an inventory to be made of the Royal Library at the Louvre, where there were numerous copies of 'V. P.,' and he, with others, had appropriated, between 1422 and 1435, numerous tapestries, including the 'Nine Worthies,' from Charles VI.'s collection in the Louvre. Some of these tapestries were delivered to Louis de Luxembourg, uncle of Jacquetta, Bedford's second wife. Jacquetta afterwards married the Richard de Wydeville (see Introd. to our Vol. ii.) who owned our MS. P., the celebrated Bodley 264.

[11] Figure 1088 in Gough's 'Sepulchral Monuments of England.'

[12] "Les Vœux du Héron," published in Wright's 'Political Poems and Songs, Edward III.-Richard III.,' Rolls Ser., 1859, pp. 1-25, is modelled

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on 'V. P.' and is full of verbal reminiscences and whole lines from Part II. It was written *c.* 1340, probably by a retainer of Count Robert of Artois. The story (which has attained great celebrity and is utilised, *e.g.*, by Dumas in 'La Comtesse de Salisbury,' 1839) is that in September 1338 Robert of Artois, during his stay at the Court of Edward III., went hawking on the Thames and brought back a heron, which he caused to be borne before the King, saying that the heron, being the most faint-hearted of birds, should be bestowed on Edward, who had lost France. Edward, being requested to vow to the Heron, vowed that he would ravage France.

For an account of the Banquet and the vows made by Edward III., Salisbury, Derby, Suffolk, the Bishops of Durham and Lincoln, Jean de Hainaut and the Queen, see also 'Chronographia Regum Francorum' (Soc. de l'Hist. de France), 3 vols., 1891-97, ii., pp. 35-8.

The story of the Vow has been considered a fiction by historians, from Thomas Wright to Professor Tout. The fact that the poem closely imitates 'V. P.' does not, we admit, say much for its historical truth; "September" is an error, and the poet is misinformed as to details concerning some of his characters. But this does not show that the Vowing never took place. Robert of Artois was at Windsor from 11th January 1338, and in 1338-9 Edward did decide to invade France. The account in Murimuth (Rolls Ser., p. 91) of that decision reads like a Vowing. Kings have been known to vow that they would invade other countries; one example, which we owe to Mr Bruce Dickins, is that of King Svein, who "at a great feast swore that before three winters were gone he would bring a host to England and slay King Ethelred" ('Heimskringla,' Vol. i., ch. xxxix., in Morris and Magnússon's 'Saga Library,' Quaritch, 1893). Edward III. did make vows, like his father and grandfather before him—*e.g.*, he vowed at Halidon Hill, 19th July 1333, that, if victorious, he would found a house for thirteen Black Benedictine Monks, and he duly fulfilled his vow, 25th June 1338 (Bain, 'Calendar of Documents,' &c., iii. (1887), No. 1277). That Edward was the sort of King who would vow to the Heron is plain from his addiction to other forms of flamboyant chivalry. He who in 1336 could ride, like young Lochinvar, all the way to Lochindorb to save a beautiful Countess [of Atholl], build a Round Table at Windsor in 1344, and found the Order of the Garter, could no doubt vow to the Heron in 1339 as well as Edward I., "the English Justinian," could vow in 1306 to the Swans. Whether the serious-minded grandfather or the romantic grandson allowed his foreign policy to be influenced by Swans and Herons is of course another matter.

Robert of Artois, to whom we shall have often to refer in another connection, was the grandson of Count Robert II. of Artois. He did not succeed to Artois, which devolved, according to local custom, on his aunt Mahaut (see § 7, *n.* 4), daughter of Robert II., and wife of Otton, 4th Count of Burgundy. He claimed the succession, but failed, and when, after the accession of his brother-in-law Philip VI., he claimed it again, he employed unscrupulous methods and even invoked the aid of magic. Mahaut died suddenly (27th October 1329), and her daughter Jeanne died soon after. The circumstances were suspicious, and when, on 23rd March 1331, the question of the Artois succession came before the Parlement of Amiens, Robert was found to have tampered with the documents, and was banished by Philip VI.

After various adventures he reached England in 1336, disguised as a merchant. According to Froissart (ii., 304), he joined Edward III. at Stirling, and Edward certainly was at Stirling in 1337 (15th June: Bain, 'Cal.,' iii., p. xlvi). Robert was received with much honour, which Philip VI. naturally resented. "A Windsor, comme sur la frontière

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—assuredly no 'Perceforest,' and consequently perhaps no Order of the Garter.[13] Such historical phenomena have also deeper causes. But let no man say that Jacques de Longuyon left insufficient traces of his stay upon the earth, or that the printing of his work, begun in 1921 and not yet completed in 1925, was unnecessary or premature.

§ 10. MS. *W* OF 'LES VŒUX DU PAON.'

MS. W is by common repute the best. MS. P would often have served the purposes of comparison with the Scottish text even better, as many of its readings are closer, and it contains lines, absent from W, reproduced in the Scots. But P breaks down at various points, notably in the Excursus on the Nine

d'Écosse, messire Robert d'Artois ne cessait nuit et jour de remontrer au roi quel droit il avait à la couronne de France." Robert of Artois died of wounds received at the Battle of Morlaix in 1342, and was buried in London with great pomp at the end of January 1343. See Lavisse et Rambaud, 'Histoire de France,' iii., pp. 68-9; T. F. Tout, 'Hist. of Engl., Henry III.–Edward III.' (Longmans, 1920), pp. 330-1; E. Déprez, 'Les Préliminaires de la Guerre de Cent Ans' (Fontemoing, 1902), xiii + 450 pp.

[13] 'Perceforest' is a prose romance, found in several fifteenth century MSS. and in prints of 1528 and 1531. Alexander, borne by a tempest to the shores of Britain, gave England to Betis, henceforward called Perceforest, and Scotland to young Gadifer. The story begins, "Quant le gentil roy Alixandre eut mis tous les plus poissants d'Orient en sa subjection" . . . and arises out of the final "laisses" of 'V. P.' But the author alleges that it is a Latin work which William of Hainault found at the Abbey of "Wortimer près la rivière de Hombre" and caused to be translated into French. Gaston Paris ('Romania,' xxiii., p. 81) assumed from this that the origins of 'Perceforest' were connected with William's presence at the marriage of Edward II. and Isabel of France at Boulogne, 25th January 1308, and that the work was begun shortly after 1314, but not finished and published till *c.* 1340. Gaston Paris also pointed out that the sudden efflorescence of orders of chivalry, of which the first was the Garter in 1349, followed in 1350 by l'Ordre de l'Étoile, was directly inspired by the "Ordre du Franc Palais" in 'Perceforest.' See Graesse, *op. cit.*, pp. 228-39; Ward, 'Cat. Rom.,' i., pp. 377-81; P. Meyer, 'Al. le Gr.,' ii., pp. 364-65; Gaston Paris, 'Rom.,' xxiii., pp. 81-85; and the Introduction to our Vol. iii.

'Perceforest' long remained popular, as shown by the existence of a sixteenth century Italian version, 'La dilettevole historia del valorosissimo Parsaforesto Re della gran Brettagna. Con i gran fatti del valente Gadiffero Re di Scotia.' Nuovamente translatato di Francese in lingua italiana. Michele Framezins, Vinegia, 1558. 6 vols., in-8o.

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Worthies (see Introd. to Vol. III.), and provides in the long run a less satisfactory parallel to the Scots. The Scottish translator probably used a better MS. of the " P " type. But the divergences of the " P " MSS. from W are relatively slight, and there can be no doubt that with the text of W, modified occasionally by the variants (often, but no means always in P) which are printed in heavy type, we possess *verbatim* the French original of our ' Buik.'

As a version of ' V. P.,' W is superior to all others, and has every appearance of being a replica of the author's copy, purged no doubt of some of his local peculiarities and made to conform more closely with standard French by a scribe of North or North-east France between 1340 and 1370 (see Fletcher, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-30). W alone possesses the colophon containing the author's name and that of Tybaut [=Thiébaut] de Bar [*d.* 1312], and these personal details suggest an author's copy sent to his patron's next of kin, possibly his brother, Renaud de Bar, Bishop of Metz [*d.* 1316]. To that copy W stands in unique relationship.

It is a very beautiful MS., plainly intended for some august personage, and was, from at least 1420, in the library of the Dukes of Burgundy, along with two other ' V. P.' MSS. (see Doutrepont, ' Litt. fr. à la Cour des ducs de Bourgogne,' Champion, 1909, p. 134, *n.* 1, and Fletcher, p. 20). It was therefore presumably written for Duke Philippe le Hardi (1363-1404), who, like his brother, King Charles V., had a luxurious taste in MSS. His sister, Marie de France, had married in 1364 Robert, Comte de Bar (1351-1411), and we know that she was interested in literature, because it was for her that Jean d'Arras composed in 1387 the tale of ' Mélusine ' (which formed with ' V. P.' the only light reading in the library of the Gournaix family at Metz). Any MSS. which Bishop Thiébaut or Bishop Renaud de Bar may have left when they died without issue, would have reverted to the Bar family, and, as brother-in-law of the Comte de Bar, Duke Philippe may well have taken some interest in the literary activities of that family and in their library, where the original of W very probably reposed.

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CHAPTER III.: THE SCOTTISH RENDERING.

§ 11. Why the Translator selected 'V. P.' and 'F. G.'

In the light of the facts set forth in the preceding chapter, it is not surprising that a Scottish translator, whether in the late fourteenth or in the early fifteenth century, should, in quest of an interesting French work, have hit upon 'Les Vœux du Paon.' It was a charming tale deservedly famous, reflecting the courtly manners of the French nobility and their custom of vowing, which appealed to a northern audience [1]; it sang the praise of Alexander, who was ever a popular figure in Scotland,[2] and whose name, borne by three of her mediæval kings, still designates the Scot in the shortened form "Sandy"; it enshrined the Noble Nine, whose cult was nowhere

[1] As witness, in the matter of Vows in general, the 'Avowing of King Arthur,' composed (1350-1400) near Carlisle, and, as regards Vows to the Peacock, the early sixteenth century Scottish 'Clariodus' (see *supra*, § 9, *n.* 6).

[2] Alexander's place in Scottish literature was early assured, for *c.* 1420 Wyntoun remarks (W IV 1262) that Alexander's deeds are contained in so many other books that he need not descant on them in his Chronicle. In later times his name sprang readily to the lips of the great Marquis of Montrose (Irving, 'Sc. P.,' p. 564), and Sir Walter Scott tells us ('Notes to Marmion') how as a boy he recited with his school-fellows the traditional rime of—

> "Alexander, King of Macedon,
> Who conquer'd all the world, but Scotland alone.
> When he came to Scotland his courage grew cold
> To see a little nation courageous and bold."

On the choice of the names "Alexander" and "David" for sons of Malcolm and Margaret, see Freeman, 'Norm. Conq.,' iv., p. 512, and v., pp. 208 and 557, and his references. The subsequent popularity of "Alexander," "David," and "Hector" as Scottish names may be not unconnected with the vogue of the 'Nine Worthies'; cp. (among many) "Hector medicus David de Bruys," who was allowed to see his master in the Tower of London on 28th October 1348 ('Rot. Scot.,' p. 797).

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more honoured than in the hero-loving north; and it told the high deeds of young Gadifer, to whom Alexander gave Scotland in fee.[3] Our translator set his hand first to 'Les Vœux,' and duly provided his rendering with Prologue and Epilogue. Then he prefixed, without either, another translation, which he made, subsequently no doubt—that of 'Li Fuerres.' In combining these two romances, he was guided by the obvious unity of the subject-matter, and by use and wont. They were copied by scribes for inclusion in one volume,[4] and they were associated with each other in the minds of his own contemporaries—the shadowy 'Huchoun' and the almost as shadowy author or authors of the poems which lead from 'Les Vœux du Paon' to the Court and person of Edward III. and the Order of the Garter, by most mysterious paths.[5] The 'Foray' supplied the beginning of the

[3] See *supra*, § 9, *n.* 13, and cp. Machaut, 'Prise d'Alixandrie' (*c.* 1372): "Alixandres, Qui conquist Angleterre." Gadifer appears in 'Golagros' (line 545) and 'Roswall and Lillian' (line 16).

[4] *E.g.*, MS. U.

[5] The author of the alliterative 'Morte Arthure' (Thornton MS., *c.* 1430), who probably composed his poem *c.* 1380 in the north of England or the south of Scotland, laid *both* romances under contribution. The 'Foray' is expressly mentioned—

> "Was never siche a justynge at journe in erthe,
> In the vale of Josephate, *as gestes us telles*,"—

and 'V. P.' supplies the personage of Floridas (*e.g.*, 2779, 2804); the Nine Nobles figure in Arthur's dream (3409), which was afterwards enshrined in Malory's prose; and Arthur, after conquering Lucius, proceeds, somewhat significantly perhaps, to the siege of Metz and the conquest of Lorraine (2386-481).

The 'Parlement of the Thre Ages' narrates the 'Foray' (332-95), "Ther was the mody Meneduse, a man of Artage" [alias Emenidus d'Arcage], and epitomises 'V. P.' (365), "And there sir Porus and his prynces to the poo avowede."

This poem is connected, notably by the very similar descriptions of deer-stalking, hawking, &c., with 'Sir Gawayne and the Grene Knight,' which is generally considered the best of the M.E. romances, is sometimes ascribed to the author of "Pearl," "Purity" and "Patience," and has often been thought to be a "Garter poem" composed as a compliment to Edward III. and his sons, and to contain a reference to Lionel of Antwerp as Duke of Clarence: see J. E. Wells, *op. cit.*, p. 54, and the edition by Tolkien and Gordon (Clarendon Press), 1925, p. xx. *n.* The 'Parlement' has, because of similarity of form and

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story: it told how young Gadifer's father had been slain, so that he himself was left to the tender mercies of such as the tyrant Clarus, and it explained the numerous allusions in Jacques de Longuyon's delightful, but not quite self-contained, romance.

§ 12. The Method of Translation Adopted.

The author's prime purpose was to "translate in Inglis leid Ane romanis quilk that he hard reid"—*i.e.*, not 'Li Fuerres,' but 'Les Vœux.' That purpose he accomplished conscientiously, without any of those conspicuous blanks, unexplainable from the known MSS., or those useless expansions, moralisings, and observations on the world at large, which are so frequent in the M.E. translations. When he turned to the 'Foray,' he allowed himself a little more freedom. It is possible that he used a MS. offering a somewhat curtailed version of 'Li Fuerres,' but the appearances are that, while employing the same methods as in the major work and often the same set phrases and complete lines, he tended to cut short his task by condensing the French. Since this tendency is nowhere more marked than at the very beginning of the 'Foray,' he appears to have started with the intention of epitomising it, and to have been led into translation proper by interest in the subject-matter and force of habit.

Whatever be the causes of these omissions, ignorance of French is not one. Nowhere in the translation of either text have we found it possible to explain a dis-

because it is preserved in the same MS., been ascribed to the author of 'Wynnere and Wastoure' (*c.* 1350), and appears to have been utilised in 'Piers Plowman,' of which the opening lines show some remarkable similarities with those of the 'Parlement': see Wells, p. 241.

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crepancy between the rendering and the original as due to misconception of the French meaning. It is true that the translation is often free enough to leave a convenient escape, but marked divergences are rare, and they can be naturally accounted for by the exigencies of metre, rime and, perhaps chiefly, alliteration,[1] and by the deficiencies of the old Scottish vocabulary. Like all early translations (and most modern ones, alas!), the 'Buik' falls far short of the minute accuracy and careful choice of appropriate English terms demanded nowadays in the rigorous Academic exercise. Strictly speaking, the method followed is not translation at all, but transfusion, the aim being primarily to cap each epic phrase of the French with a similar set phrase in Scots—not to retain the precise literary qualities, word order, and style of the original, but to select from a limited stock of stereotyped expressions, hallowed by usage and complete with alliteration and convenient rime-word, those most nearly conveying the sense.

That such is the procedure is shown by the fact that whole lines are repeated, sometimes at short intervals, sometimes at quite different parts of either romance. This repetition (which would prove, if proof were needed, that the 'Foray' and the 'Avowis' are by the same hand) is occasionally due to the similar tendency of the

[1] Alliteration, which obviously cannot always be combined with literal translation, is very marked throughout, *e.g.* :—

Thus think thay throuch thair cheualrie (I 65)
That thay of thairis sall haue na thing
Bot thay it win throw hard fechting (I 67-8)
His Haubrik helpit him nocht ane hair (I 120)
Thay tuik na tent to tak presounis (I 126)
Thair swordis swyftly out thai swyng (I 1027)
His staluart speir he stithly straucht (I 2321)
The staluart steid that by him stude [not in F.] (I 2372)
Or ellis that luffar leuand lestis (III 5500)
He bradit out his brand sa bricht = rentoise (IV 9513); cp. IV 8865 = Metent mains as espées.

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French (*e.g.*, II., 1709 and 4471), but more often to a habit of relying rather on the promptings of a retentive memory than on innate power of individual expression.[2] For similar reasons, the translation bears all the paraphernalia of M.E. poetry—circumlocutions ("great and small," "baith ald and young," "knaif and knicht");

[2] And hardelie came thame agane (I 99 and 112)
All in ane sop assemblit ar (I 110 and IV 9115)
War wickit (sa the Lord me saue!) (I 357 and II 3912)
That geuis sa mony ryall thing (I 634 and 1914)
His beird of new begouth to spring (I 677 and 1305)
His sistir sone he was but weir (I 686 and II 1620)
(I 837 and 2116)
That hes vs all in gouerning (I 858 and 2862)
His hart within his body grew = li cuers li est el pis bien demi pié levés (I 1230 and II 4465)
Agane his dynt had nocht (*also* nane) warrand (I 1356, 1558 and 1996)
And na perrell nor pane forsake (I 1642 and II 4156)
euill hewit and paill (I 1647, IV 9252 and 10375)
Bot gif the story gabbing ma (se l'istoire ne ment) (I 2508 and IV 9992)
Turnit thair brydillis and to-ga (I 2753 and II 4040)
That mony ane straik he sadly set (I 2072 and 2903)
fra deid and fra menȝeing (I 2950 and III 6003)
Hir had weill leuer be grauin in grein = Mais ele se lairoit miex les membres trenchier [toute vive escorchier] (II 197 and III 6935)
That men bird speke of him greatly (II 1456 and 2698)
The standart and the gumfioun (II 1498 and III 5787)
Of the riche Empriour (II 1499 and 2125)
Ane renk about him hes he made = Entour lui fait .j. renc (II 1709 and 4471)
Throw battell mon this were tak fyne (II 1954, 2728, and III 6601)
Now will I our Pharone fare (II 2139, 2896, and 2900)
Wele sauorand, of sere coloures (II 2172 and III 5022)
That gart him on his arsoun ly (II 2609 and 4538)
Richt to the Kingis pauillioun (II 2987 and 3261)
Gif I leif lang in liege pouste (II 3120 and 3153)
The heit withall sa hard thame led (II 3288 and IV 10204)
Venus chalmer in presoun (II 4456 and 4842)
And said amang thame preually = a consel (III 5393 and 6152)
With breistis, bodeis and sheildis bare
Thay hurkled (III 6280 and IV 8375)
Straik with spurris the sterand steidis = les bons destriers courans (III 8348 and IV 8647)
The battell hard and greuand was (IV 8453 and 9310)
Armit at all pointes fetasly (IV 8505 and 9648)
be the Goddis that I in trow (IV 9799 and 10979)
Trumpettis and hornis blew atanes = de tel aïr sonner (IV 10078 and 10224)
Sa bludie, sa euill dicht and sa met = Si trés mal atornés, si mat et si navrés (IV 10366 and 10371)

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doublets ("assalt and melle")[3]; meaningless clichés ("as I hard tell"); and a profusion of synonyms, handy stop-gaps and rime-words.

Such parrotry being the custom of the times, it is idle to expect careful writing. The method was more the oral than the written, "I said furth as me come to mouth" (IV., col. 14). When a Scots word or phrase is not forthcoming, the French is carried over without more ado. A Gallicism is considered to be no blemish, but rather to lend tone to the Scots. No more than Chaucer or Caxton does our translator hesitate to interlard his text with French words and phrases which must have conveyed little meaning to "thame that na Romanes can." Internal rimes[4] and awkward repetitions of a word in the same line[5] or in two consecutive lines[6] are as rife as in Barbour's 'Bruce.'[7] Inversion is very

[3] amouris and droury (II 3787, &c.) [cp. Br. VII 498];
dule and cair (I 618, &c.) [cp. Br. XX 587];
to cry and rare = plaint et pleure et sospire (IV 9597) [cp. Br. V 97 and Wynt. VIII 3275]

[4] *E.g.*—
The King he *rais* and furth he *gais* (II 29)
"Schir," said ane *swane*, "Porrus is *tane*" (II 4857)
He is *tane;* bot we haue *ane* (II 4969)
[cp. Na thai war *slane*, ilk*ane* or *tane* (Br. V 372)
Qwhen thai the *land* wes rycht ner *hand* (Br. III 716)]

[5] *Gif* God will *gif* me grace thairtill (I 863)
That *fele* of Gaderis may *feill* (I 1368)
Be*syde* the *syd* the suerd doun 3ude (II 4272)
Of *fynit* gould, fare and *fyne* (IV 9074).

[6] And fellit him stane-deid richt *thair;*
Thair endit all his cheualrie (I 136-7)
Armour gude and *fyne*
All couerit in *fyne* sandale (I 1706-7)
"pure men" (I 564-5)
"strakis gaif" (I 982-4), "smot" (I 1159-60 and 1238-9)
"in shunder" (I 2080-1)
"formest" (I 2294-5)
"sturdy" (I 2874-5).

[7] Professor Craigie, 'Hist. Rev.,' 1893, p. 182, quotes as typical of Barbour's diffuse and circumlocutory style these two passages [the text of the first, however, seems corrupt], where several lines merely repeat

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frequent,[8] which is not surprising since in early Scots it was common even in prose,[9] but it gives many a rude shock to the modern reader without always producing a very satisfactory line. In course of transit from the more refined French to the cruder Scots, the expression often

the sense or the wording of others, and the whole idea could be better expressed in one-third of the space—

" Fortoun has traualit vs this day,
That *scalit* vs so suddandly.
Our fayis *this nycht sall trastly ly;*
For thai trow we so *scalit* ar,
And fled to-vauerand her and thar,
That we sall nocht thir dayis thre
All to-giddir assemblit be.
Tharfor *this nycht thai sall trastly*
But vachis tak thair eis and ly."
(Br. VII 298-306.)

" And with suerdis that scharply schar
Thai *seruit* thame full egyrly.
Thai war slayn doune so halely
That thar weill neir eschapit nane.
Thai *seruit* thame in sa gret wayne
With scherand swerdis and with knyvis,
That weill neir all lesyt thar livis."
(Br. XVI 450-56.)

The extraordinary extent to which the 'Bruce' carries repetition of whole lines (*e.g.*, Br. III. 34 and IV. 426) is shown, incidentally, in our list, *infra*, § 19.

[8] The preposition is frequently placed after its substantive, especially as a rime-word—*e.g.*, fra, agane (also aganes, II. 2595), amang, and more notably " thame after " (II. 407), " thame behynd " = derrière eus (I. 1598), as in M.E. generally; and *metri causa* the preposition is sometimes displaced, as in " I knawe the steid that ȝe on ryde " (I. 381) [cp. 'Guy of Warwick,' 5266, " the stede that he on rode "], " quhom on " (IV. 9321), " Quhat hecht thy brother that thow of menis ? " (II. 64, 1983), &c. Phrases with " of " are, as in the 'Bruce,' very frequently separated from the nouns to which they refer, at the risk of ambiguity—*e.g.*, " Quhare mony men war of valour " = maint vaillant poingneor (IV. 10022), " The ax in his hand of steill " (II. 4486)—or of obscurity, " of Inde the auld Clarus " (II. 273), " Clarus King " (II. 2009). Inversion does not tend to give force: " This message do for ȝow I will " (I. 861), " Abone all knichtis to loif thow is," " He said, 'ane presoner heir is' " (II. 4949), " Hir fare-hede and her fassoun all " (2400), &c.; or clearness of expression, " To the pacock that slew Porrus " [the subject] (IV. 8960). Similar peculiarities are conspicuous also in the 'Bruce'—*e.g.*, " mastis," " fast is " (XVII. 715), " The tothir part went in the toune is " (III. 240), where a rime must be provided for " pailȝownys."

With *nane* inversion is almost the rule, " Is nane on lyfe " (I. 2584). Cp. 2520, " Held nane on hors that euer he met " (I. 2904).

[9] *E.g.*, O.Sc. laws (end of fourteenth century), " he aw throu the toun to be dungyn " ('D. S. Sc.,' p. 32).

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loses its delicacy; thus "grailles par les flancs" is not very happily rendered as "small in vame" (I. 667). But the translation has all the homelier merits: clearness, force, directness, fidelity. The lines have the satisfying ring of the ballad. Some find a curious echo in Thomas Campbell, "Sic leuch before that now sall greit," and Sir Walter Scott, "The straik was great, the sword was gude." Others have even a certain melody and a glint of poetry—*e.g.*, the couplet which tells how they found old Cassamus' dead body on the stricken field at Ephesoun:—

> "Thay socht him all day to the nicht
> And fand him with the euin licht" (IV. 10673).

The battle-scenes especially are well rendered, with a rugged power worthy of the spirited French epic. If in the social scenes described the tone is not always that of the sprightly Jacques de Longuyon, the phrases are such as he would have used had he been born north of Tweed to ply the easy-going alliterative couplet of the times. Jacques is not so much translated as transplanted into a rougher soil, transfused into a duller medium; but if he is not, in the present-day Academic sense, translated, neither is he betrayed.

§ 13. The Personal Element in the Rendering.

Because of this fidelity, the mass of the work permits no conclusions as to the translator's personality, except that he was no garrulous moraliser, ever ready to desert his text in the interests of his own *obiter dicta*, but a man of conscience, bent only on a workmanlike rendering of the admired romance. The few lines or phrases which

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he does contribute—*i.e.*, those which are not accounted for by any of the numerous MSS. of 'Les Vœux,' are of all the greater interest as being in a sense the only specimens we possess of his own composition, and therefore likely to betray something of his personality. They are not, of course, specimens of completely independent writing, being suggested indirectly by the subject-matter of the original, and the character of many is determined by those exigencies of rime and metre which affect any verse translation. A line must be filled out by a new phrase, or a new line added to complete a couplet. Thus, to provide a difficult rime, he gives, though rarely, a detail not justified by the French text: The 'Salamandar' is "ane foull that bredis in Alexander" [Alexandria]; Alexander, "That lord of Lyue was and Caldeis" (II. 1516), owes his fuller title to the fact that the preceding line ended in 'Grece'; the conquest of 'Damas' leads in the same way to that of 'Daurus, Pollus, and Nicholas' (II. 1251); the rime-word "harnes" calls forth "Speiris, swordis and all the sikkerness" (II. 346), and, strangely, "That is oylit without affrays" (II. 1399).

For such *metri causa* purposes he generally expands a word already used, expresses an idea implicit in the context, marks time with a harmless asseveration or the like,[1] or else supplies from his knowledge of the story a

[1] And Dedifeir *the fair citie*
Had wonnen, quhair Floridas *the fre*
Beleuit with him as of house (II 3)
And maid him manrent with his hand (II 18)
His oist all haill thare gart he byde (II 1520)
Bot in seir steids haue I bene (II 1986)
In cumpany that war lang and braid (II 408)
[a mantle] Of Inde semit fare and fyne (II 1925)
That was sa mekill, great and squair (II 3184)
Illuminit with the low of lufe (II 5496)
[cp. Br. VIII 228: Thair speris . . . Of licht
Illumynit all the feildis]
Forsuith, as now it stands thus: (II 236)

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detail not figuring in the original at that particular stage,[2] or an infrequent exclamatory line.[3] Much of this added matter consists of conventional Middle English phrases and stop-gaps.[4] Sufficient, however, remains to give the glimmer of a personality, as of a man revelling in the pomp and circumstance of war, at least to the extent of interpolating a couplet now and then where none is absolutely indispensable: armour,[5] the joy of battle,[6] the charge of a single rider or the onrush of cavalry,[7] the racing and chasing of a raiders' fight,[8] the

And to our mater turn will we (III 6737)
Quharefore I requyre 3ow and pray (II 561)
As man suld de, this wait I wele (II 2404)
Or I sall sell baith craft and art! (II 4552)
[2] Into thy solace eftir wine (II 1358)
the nobill pray
That mony ane brocht to decay (II 62)
Betys,
Thy eme, that was of mekill prys (II 1572)
[3] Bot vther wayis it micht not be! (II 42)
Thare dyit ma men na anew! (II 3340)
[4] Baith King and Casare, knicht and knaif (II 162, 418)
For wyse men hes said (II 391)
Thair sall nane that is borne of wyfe (II 1486)
[Cp. Wynt. VI (W) 1966:
And na man suld be borne of wif]
And nocht ane leif, les nor mare (II 340)
Or de, or than cum recryand (II 214)
[5] Armit weill baith fute and hand (III 6631 and 7080)
Or sport him-self, assayis his weid (II 1538)
That naked war and of weir vnsle (II 1670)
[6] Quhen Betys saw his men sa stad,
To succour thame great will he had (II 1173)
The Effesonis war rushit thare,
Makand great noyes, dule and care (II 1807)
That ay aganes ane war ten (II 1546)
And mony ane cowart hes gart quake (II 1776)
Geuand and takand woundis wyde (II 4172)
War laid at eard but recovering (IV 8622)
He rushit doun of blude all rede (IV 10239)
[7] And he to him come, as of were. (II 1226)
[Cp. Wynt. V (C) 2057: Withe a gret ost as of weire.]
And thay come prekand at deray (II 1326, 1830, 3072, 4412)
All sarraly ridand in battale (II 1199)
Gyrdand with sheilde and spere in hand (II 1322)
For-outten affray, aduysedly (II 584)
That men be countenance micht ken (II 1682)
[8] For to defend all the flearis,
And for to stony the chaissaris (I 2777)
Toward thame we raid sa fast
That we ouertuke thame at the last (IV 10555)

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beating of a retreat (with a particular fondness for the word "away"),[9]—the personality of one interested in knightly qualities, moral or physical,[10] and indulging on occasion a pretty vein of picturesque abuse [11] and grim humour.[12]

But throughout there is a clearer impression of the writer than of the man, a marked tendency to introduce an astonishing variety of pious exclamations—*e.g.* :

> And swore be God and all his micht (II. 311).
> deir God that I anour! (IV. 8944): cp. I. 557, 570, &c.; IV. 8397, &c.

Sometimes a particular phrase or word occurs so often, independently of the French, as to be clearly a mannerism —*e.g.*, "honour" and "tour"; "honour" is once

[9] Maugre thairis, away thay went. (II 1351)
And syne went to the wod away. (II 3972)
Sa lychtly passis thow nocht away! (II 4090)

[10] He hopit ane better bachlere,
Na better taucht in all manere,
Was nocht in warld (II 1995)
And sen God hes sik ane to vs send
Quhair nathing may be to amend (II 1977)
With corpis courtes & debonare (II 1942)

[11] to hate as the dede [=death] (II 1549, 1616, &c.)
And hait him all that seis with E (II 1260)
We aucht hait him in mane and mude. (II 2780)
3on couetous, 3on skarce lymmar (II 206)
Crabbit, contrarious, lene and cald. (II 2094)

[12] I trow that thair was sum of tha,
To sell thare spurris that tyme na wald (I 2734)
Ane lufe droury he hes thame hecht
=Qui promet a Clarus une male journée (II 336)
Clarus sall by his barganyng (II 2287)
Anone on nede he sall bargane by (III 6633)
3e sall be sone
Seruit with Caneus on his steid,
=Ja venra Can. (III 6134)
[Cp. Br. XVI 451, 454: with swerdis . . . Thai *seruit tham*]
But, or thay all be cummin thare,
The sydis of sum may sow full sair
=Mais ançois qu'il i soient serontil plus hurté (I 2758) [cp. Br. XVI 391 E]
Of handis and heidis, baith braune and blude,
He maid ane *lardnare* quhare he stude,
=De piez, de poings, de testes faisoit sa venoison (II 4519)
[Cp. Br. V 410, Tharfor the men of that cuntre,
For sic thingis that mellit were,
Callit it "the Douglas *lardenere*"]

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prompted by the French (II. 3449), but elsewhere is due to the translator himself, and may even inspire whole lines—*e.g.*:

> Fynely walled with mony tour,
> Famiask aucht all that honour (II. 13).
> Bot Babilon the maister tour (II. 38).

Similarly II. 186, 234, 628, 1500, 2126.

"Apartly" is a favourite word:

> And sho apartly aschamyt is (II. 3904),
> Sall ishe to thame apartly;
> In middes the visage hardely
> =Adont leur courons sus (II. 2841).
> Ferrand is win richt apertly
> =Ferrans est gaaigniés (IV. 8393).

And so are the phrases:

> craggis
> That had *ane archearis schot* on hicht (II. 473).
> Sik *marterdome* sall we mak, I hecht (II. 1544).
> *Se his point* [= opportunity] (I. 1409, 1499).
> for all is *at rebours* (II. 534).
> *vailȝe quod vailȝe* (II. 1565).

A taste for legal and administrative words is somewhat pronounced: avowie (I. 606); cenatour [possibly suggested by Geoffrey of Monmouth's "senators," as in 'Morte Arthure']; He [Ingramound] was ane mychty cenatour (I. 1019); constabill (I. 29, 421, 2303, 2315); liege pouste (II. 3153); sesing, I am first luffit and in sesing [= possession] (II. 650 and 1403); parcenel (I. 2960).

Some of the obscurer proper names of the French are occasionally altered. They are not always very convincing in the French, and metre probably dictated some of the changes. Of those which are apparently the translator's own inventions, three bear a suspicious likeness to historical names familiar to the author of the 'Bruce':

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"Amer," "Arundel," and "Ingramound" (riming with "ground").[13]

In short, having shut out from view the great mass of the 'Buik,' as being the work of French poets, and concentrated our gaze upon those isolated phrases which are the translator's, we have seen as in a glass darkly lineaments which, as this inquiry proceeds, will reveal themselves more and more clearly as at least very similar to those of John Barbour.

CHAPTER IV.: THE CONTROVERSY ON AUTHORSHIP AND DATE OF COMPOSITION.

§ 14. The Translator's Testimony.

The 'Buik' contains no mention of the author's name. In the Prologue of Part II. he tells us how "in mery May," mourning for one whom he had loved in vain, he resolved to "translait in inglis leid Ane romains . . . Of amourus, armis and of droury," for wise men say that intellectual pursuits turn the mind from all folly. In the Colophon he states his purpose to have been somewhat different:—

> "To short thame that na Romanes can,
> This buke to translait I began,"

and ends his task with an exhortation to his readers to profit by the noble example of Alexander the Great.

[13] 'Schyr Amer' [de Valence], Br. II 308 and *passim*; the 'Erle of Arundel' (Leland, quoting 'Scalacronica': see Skeat's note to Br. XVI 342); 'schir Yngerame de Vmphrewell,' Br. VI 3, &c.; 'schir Yngram,' Br. II 252 [The 'Guy Marmaduke' of 'B.A.' is apparently suggested by the French text].

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But such revelations reveal little. To be crossed in hopeless love is a well-known device of mediæval prologue writers, whether they be gay worldlings or grave ecclesiastics,[1] and often bears as little relation to humdrum fact as does our translator's description of " mery May " to the grim realities of the Scottish spring. Such confessions may even be true, but they convey little information when names are withheld. And why should translations from French ever be made unless for the pleasure, or for the edification, of those who know no French ?

If the translator's identity remains undisclosed, the date of his translation is given explicitly and with all due precision in the Colophon :—

> And ȝe may alsweill, gif ȝe will,
> Do the gude and haue louing
> As quhylum did this nobill King,
> That ȝit is prysed for his bounte,
> The quhether thre hundreth ȝeir was he
> Before the tyme that God was borne
> To saue our saullis, that was forlorne.
> *Sensyne is past ane thousand ȝeir,*
> *Four hundreth and threttie thair-to neir,*
> *And aucht and sumdele mare,* I wis.
> God bring vs to his mekill blis,
> That ringis ane in trinitie.
> Amen, amen for cheritie !

In this date, 1438, there is nothing inherently improbable, because early French works usually did take at least a

[1] The translator of the 'Legends of the Saints' begins his Prologue with the remark, by Dionysius Cato, that " Idilnes giffis novrysingis To vicis," and the merits of translation as a cure for love-sickness are set forth in the Prologue of 'Lancelot of the Laik' (S.T.S., 1912). The 'Roman de Troie' in prose begins in the same way :

" Les anciens sages qui de philosophie parlerent nous defendent a mener nostre vie ociousement et sanz labour, par ce qui ociousetez esmuet le cuer et encline le cors a touz vices " . . .

Therefore we ought to . . . " entendre les euvres des anciens et des vieilles estoires."

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century to appear in an English dress, and we know that in 1460 the 'Roman d'Alixandre' actually was being turned into Scots.[2] But critics have found it so incon-

[2] The other Scottish verse rendering of the 'Roman d'Alixandre' was made about 1460 by Sir Gilbert Hay, a native of Fife and kinsman to the Earls of Erroll, who, having spent twenty-four years in France and been Chamberlain to Charles VII., returned home, soon after the death of the Dauphiness Margaret of Scotland in 1445, and devoted his declining years to the translation of various French works into Scots.

Although modern commentators have not unnaturally confused his 'Buik' with ours, there is no connexion between them. Sir Gilbert Hay uses the five-stressed riming couplet; his rendering is much freer; it abridges the French text, condensing 'Li Fuerres de Gadres' and 'Les Vœux du Paon' into one-fifth of the number of Scots lines required by our translator, and it includes not only these two episodes but the whole 'Roman d'Alixandre.'

The extracts which we print (Vol. IV, notes to lines I, 1 and 33; IV, 11138) show that his method of translation is quite different and that, however drastic may have been the rehandling of the text in 1499, he owes nothing to his predecessor, of whose very existence he seems to have been unaware. Sir Gilbert Hay believed that the 'Roman d'Alixandre' had never before been translated in Scotland.

His prose translations are in print: 'Gilbert of the Haye's Prose MS. (1456)': Vol. I, 'The Buke of the Law of Armys, or Buke of Bataillis'; Vol. II, 'The Buke of the Ordre of Knychthede' and 'The Buke of the Governance of Princis,' ed. J. H. Stevenson, S.T.S., Old Series, Nos. 44 and 62. But the 'Alexander,' which contains upwards of 20,000 lines, has never been published. It is preserved only in the Taymouth Castle MS., discovered about 1834 and first mentioned in Laing's edition of Dunbar published in that year. The MS. (middle of the 16th century) descends from one written in 1499, which must have been imperfect, since in the Taymouth MS. the Prologue and the opening lines are absent, and the text begins in the middle of a period, 36 leaves, at the beginning, being left blank. The MS. was communicated in 1896 by the owner, the Marquis of Breadalbane, to Dr A. Herrmann, who published a description of it, together with a summary of the contents and a few extracts. 'The Taymouth Castle MS. of Sir Gilbert Hay's Buik of King Alexander the Conquerour,' Berlin (R. Gaertner), 1898, 23 pp.

The following are the lines in Dr Herrmann's transcription which throw light on the origins of the work, as known to the scribe or *remanieur* in 1499:—

Fo. 227 . . . Now is our buik brocht fastlee till ane end.
Fo. 228 Louit be the Lord the drop of grace me send,
The quhilk I askit at ye beginning
To grant me grace to mak ane fair ending,
Quhen I the making undertakin hade,
For to fulfill the hecht that I haif maid,
And at ye instance of ye vorthee lorde,
As in the prologe ve haif maid recorde . . .
All this that followis is bot the excusatioune
Of him that maid the first translatioune;
Bot in this buik sone efter ȝe sall se
Quha causit this buik againe to vrettin be;
Quhair and be quhome, quhat tyme it vrettin vas,

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venient that they have indulged in computations unwarranted by the text. Thus Sir Walter Scott [3] suggested that 'Sensyne' might be interpreted as "since the death of Alexander," to give the date 1138. Dr Neilson [4] showed, though unconvincingly, how the figures may have been transposed, or misread, or brought up to his own date by a later scribe; others have hinted that "thair-to neir" might justify subtraction of 38 from 1400, or that the Colophon was added by another hand. But that it is demonstrably in the same style and language as the rest of the 'Buik' will be clear to any one who checks its

In termes schort to ȝow I sall rehers.
I vill vret furthe befoir me as I find,
His excusatioune I vill not leaf behind.
Translatit it vas forsuithe as I hard say
At the instance of Lord erskeine be sir gilbert hay,
Quhilk into France treulie vas duelland
Veill tuentye four ȝeir out of Scottland
And in the king of Francis seruice vas,
Quhair of our avin leid he had mair distres
Of conversatioune, cumpannie and collatioune.*
Treulie it is full gret mereit
Guid thingis for to be put in vret.
Of this to spak now vill I lait alaine,
And to the translatour now vill I pas againe,
Efter his vreting schortlie to conclude
That this gret storie, vicht† as he onderstuid,
Fo. 229 Richt sua he vret vithe his avin proper hand,
Vas neuer befoir translatit in this land,
That is to say, out of ye frenche leid . . .
Thankit be god! now heir hand‡ haif I endit
This nobill buik and pairt of faltis mendit
Vithe help of him yat maid ye first indyit.
Thair is na man vithe out sum falt may vret . . .
Thus I begane in the lustie tyme of may
And endit in august the ane and tuentye day.
The same time that I this buik could end,
Fra cryst the cours of ȝeiris could discend
A thousand four hunderithe nyntie ȝeiris and nyne
Fra crystis birthe ar passit by sensyne.
The saming ȝeir, the treuthe gif I sall tell,
Into this realme thair rang a pestilence fell . . .
heir endis the buik of King Alexander ye Conquerour.

* A line is evidently wanting. † richt? ‡ ? neirhand.

[3] Letter, Ashiestiel, 29th July 1805, to Alexander Gibson Hunter of Blackness, printed by Laing, 'Adversaria,' p. 3.
[4] 'J. B.,' pp. 45-8.

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words and phrases on our Glossary in Vol. IV., and its only legitimate interpretation is that the translation was completed in the early months of 1438. The statement may not be true, but it is unambiguous.

§ 15. Doubts and Misgivings.

Few have read the 'Buik of Alexander' and remained quite satisfied with its anonymity and professed date. When the unique copy was discovered in 1805, it was sent to Sir Walter Scott as the competent authority. He had edited 'Sir Tristrem' in 1804, and he was familiar with Barbour's 'Bruce,' from which he borrowed freely in at least three of his later works.[1] He read the 'Buik' with the greatest interest, and made an analysis of it for his own use.[2] He was struck by the likeness to Barbour's style, and considered the language older than that of 1438. He hesitated, as well he might, to call in question a date stated with such damning precision, but was tempted to speculate half-heartedly on the possibilities of arriving at an earlier one. Dr Jamieson, in 1820, expressed similar doubts.[3] David Laing, after reprinting the 'Buik' in 1831 without comment, maintained on the whole problem a silence at first discreet, because of the disagreement with Miller (see § 3), then prudent, because of the disquieting discovery of another early Scottish 'Alexander' at Taymouth Castle in 1834 (see § 14 *n.* 2), and at last broken in 1867, when his words

[1] 'The Lord of the Isles,' 'Castle Dangerous,' 'Tales of a Grandfather'; see Skeat, ed. 'Bruce,' iii., p. lxv.
[2] Subsequently printed in Weber's 'Metrical Romances,' Edinburgh, 1810, Vol. i., pp. lxxii-iii.
[3] Ed. 'Bruce' (1820), p. 434.

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betrayed ominous misgivings on the question of authorship and date.[4]

Silence reigned once more until the early 'nineties, when a student of Berlin, Albert Herrmann, in quest of a doctorate subject, came upon the Bannatyne Club reprint, and, in the course of his inquiry into the language of the 'Buik,' turned, for purposes of comparison, to analogous Scottish texts and selected—there is, alas! little choice—Barbour's 'Bruce.' There he was startled to find, not similarity, but identity, and soon collected so formidable a list of phrases and whole lines common to both texts as to leave no doubt in his mind that they stood in some very intimate relationship with each other. The 'Buik' of 1438 being suspiciously similar to the 'Bruce' of 1375, Dr Herrmann's conclusion in 1893[5]—and none other was possible from such premises—was that an admiring and anonymous disciple, who knew large portions of the 'Bruce' by heart and was saturated with Barbour's phraseology, had translated the French romance in the dead master's style.

§ 16. Dr Neilson's View.

Dr George Neilson, adding considerably to Herrmann's long list of similarities and parallel passages, found, on reference to some of the French MSS., that some of the phrases and lines common to the 'Bruce' and the 'Buik' were exact renderings of the French. He thus

[4] "That he [Barbour] could not possibly have been acquainted with the Buik is undeniable if it was translated . . . in the year indicated at the end. . . . The language might be referred to the latter part of the fourteenth century." 'Adversaria,' p. 7.

[5] 'Untersuchungen über das schottische Alexanderbuch,' Dissertation, Halle, 1893, p. 87.

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came to the conclusion that Herrmann's theory did not fit the facts. For how, indeed, could a disciple serve two masters, remain scrupulously faithful to the French text and yet reproduce the "ipsissima verba" of the biography of a Scottish king? No amount of "admiration" could draw from Barbour's 'Bruce' an exact rendering of the French. There must, therefore, be some error in the dates. Now few facts in early literary history are more certain than that the 'Bruce' was composed in 1375. The date of the 'Bruce' being unassailable, that of the 'Buik' must be erroneous. Dr Neilson became convinced, moreover, that the style and metre of both works betrayed a single hand. He concluded that Barbour had translated the French romance, and then used his translation as a model when composing the 'Bruce,' and that "1438" was an error for some date prior to 1375.

Dr Neilson did not content himself with claiming for Barbour the honour of translating 'Li Fuerres' and 'Les Vœux.' He claimed for him also authorship of the 'Troy-book,' part authorship of the Legends of the Saints, and friendship, if not collaboration, with the mysterious 'Huchown,' who is generally believed to have composed the 'Pistil of Suete Susane,' and, less generally, the version of the 'Morte Arthure' given by the Thornton MS.[1] This 'Huchown'—no doubt the "gude Syr Hew of Eglintoun" lamented by Dunbar, and possibly a cleric who lived at Cunningham—Dr Neilson endeavoured to identify with the historical Sir Hugh of Eglinton [(*c.* 1312-76), who also lived at Cunningham and who was a brother-in-law of Robert II. and Auditor of Exchequer at the same time as Barbour, from 1372 to 1376[2]], and

[1] See *supra*, § 11, *n.* 5.
[2] 'Huchown of the Awle Ryale,' p. 8.

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with "the Gawain poet," and ascribed to Sir Hugh some fifteen other works, including (excusez du peu!) the masterpieces 'Pearl' and 'Patience.'

§ 17. Dr J. T. T. Brown *versus* Dr Neilson.

Dr Neilson stated the case for Barbour's authorship of the 'Buik' with all the weight of his well-known learning and exact scholarship, but so confidently and with such exuberance as to invite criticism, which soon came, searching, merciless, extremely clever, from Dr J. T. T. Brown, by then famous for his slashing onslaught on the authenticity of the 'Kingis Quair.' Dr Brown conceded that the parallel passages adduced were too numerous and too close to be explained away as coincidences. Phrases and lines originally used to translate the French romance had, in fact, afterwards been utilised for the 'Bruce.' But of this admitted fact he proposed a very different explanation. The date of 1438 was perfectly sound, but the 'Bruce' as we know it—*i.e.*, from copies written nearly a hundred years after Barbour's death—was not the 'Bruce' as it left the author's hands. It was a late fifteenth-century redaction thereof, containing interpolations, such as the account of the campaign of 1327, and a detail in the incident of the Bruce's heart (Douglas casting it before him in the field), and "decorated" with extracts from the 'Morte Arthure,' Froissart, Chaucer, Lydgate, Wyntoun and Holland, but chiefly from the 'Buik of Alexander.' Dr Brown even proceeded to identify both the translator of the 'Buik' and the redactor of the 'Bruce.' David Rate made the translation, and some thirty-five years later John Ramsay,

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when he wrote his MS. of the 'Bruce,' used that translation to improve on Barbour.[1]

Thus were the issues obscured by extraneous matter: the "other works"[2] of the industrious Barbour and his friend the prolific Huchown, the occult operations of the irrelevant David Rate and the secret improving tendencies of John Ramsay. Such were the elements of the great controversy which, from taut little books bristling with "parallel passages" and replete with chapter and verse, was soon overflowing into the columns of the weekly and even the daily press,[3] and was waged with a zest and vigour unsurpassed since the Flyting of Dunbar and Kennedy. The ease with which both scholars moved in the obscurer recesses of northern learning which they ransacked for projectiles was as admirable as the skill with which each obtained on the rival theory what are now called direct hits. Before long each had demolished the other's more startling contentions, and, inadver-

[1] 'Bruce and Wallace,' p. 163.

[2] "Master Barbour, quhilk was a worthi clerk,
He said the Bruce amang his othir werk." 'Wall.' XI 1213.

[3] George Neilson:
'Rimes in Barbour,' in the 'Athenæum,' 27th February 1897, pp. 279-80. 'John Barbour, John Trumpour, and a Legend of the Saints,' in the 'Scottish Antiquary,' Vol. xi. (1897), pp. 103-7; 'The Real Scots Wha Hae,' *Ibid.*, xiv. (1899), pp. 29-39; 'John Barbour, Poet and Translator' (Paul, Trench, Trübner, & Co.), 1900, pp. viii + 57 [reprinted from 'Trans. Philol. Soc.,' 1899-1902]. 'Barbour and the alleged John Ramsay': 'Letter' in the 'Daily News,' 30th October 1900; in the 'Scotsman,' 12th November 1900; 'John Barbour *versus* John Ramsay,' 'Athenæum,' 17th November and 1st December 1900. 'Huchown of the Awle Ryale and his Poems: Examined in the light of recent Criticism,' Royal Philosophical Society, Glasgow, 27 pp. 'Huchown of the Awle Ryale, the Alliterative Poet,' Glasgow (Maclehose), 1902, pp. xiii + 148. 'Barbour,' art. in Chambers's 'Cyclopædia of English Literature,' Vol. i.

J. T. T. Brown:
'The Author of Ratis Raving': Bonner Beiträge zur Anglistik, Bonn (P. Hanstein), Heft V (1900), pp. 145-61. 'The Wallace and The Bruce restudied': Bonner Beiträge zur Anglistik, Heft VI (1900), viii + 174 pp. 'Letter' in the 'Scotsman,' 14th November 1900 [reply to Dr Neilson's letter of 12th November].

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tently, some of his own. Dr Neilson made short work of David Rate and the alleged fifteenth-century redactor's name and address, together with his excerpts from Froissart, Chaucer, and Holland, although he failed to authenticate the interpolation concerning the Bruce's heart.[4] Dr Brown's artillery made lamentable gaps in the elaborately constructed world figure of John Barbour, Admirable Crichton of the fourteenth century, poet, translator from French as from Latin of 'Ferumbras,' as of Guido delle Colonne and the 'Legenda Aurea,' friend and literary counsellor to the shadowy author of the 'Morte Arthure,' author himself of practically everything else in early Scottish literature and rightful heir to all unclaimed texts.

§ 18. Inconclusive Result of the Controversy.

To a cause thus shorn of its bolder claims each protagonist won adherents of repute. Herrmann, left with-

[4] 'Athenæum,' 17th November 1900: Wyntoun (VIII 3125), referring to Douglas' mission with the heart, says:

> And gud Schir Iames of Dowglasse
> His hart tuk, as fyrst ordande was,
> For to bere in to the Halilande.
> How at that was tane on hande
> Weil proportis Broyssis Buk,
> Qwha thar of the mater wil luk.
> Wynt. VIII (C) 3121.

And Holland, *c.* 1449, in his 'Howlat,' i., 395, clearly indicates the 'Bruce.' But Dr Neilson's reply misses the point. What is suspect is not the Episode of the Bruce's Heart, but one incident in it—Douglas casting the Heart before him on the battlefield—which is absent from MSS. C and E and found only in Hart's print. Dr Brown maintained, *op. cit.*, pp. 140-2, that this incident is taken from Holland's 'Howlat.' The (16) lines, which contain no less than three sets of rimes found nowhere else in the 'Bruce,' are considered by Skeat to be interpolations. Mr W. M. Mackenzie discards *all* Hart's additions.

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out a case, recanted and ranged himself under Dr Brown's banner.[1] Henry Bradley,[2] Andrew Lang,[3] and Mr W. M. Mackenzie [4] lent Dr Neilson their qualified support. But the mass of critical opinion remained neutral, unconvinced by the arguments of either side. In the controversy an atmosphere of forensic skill and special pleading had been felt, due possibly to the fact that the protagonists were not only eminent scholars, but distinguished Glasgow lawyers. A faint suspicion prevailed that both were speaking to a self-imposed brief, and that neither might be so wholly and entirely right as he believed. Dr Neilson was thought to have made out in Barbour's favour a strong but not a conclusive case, so strong that no account of Barbour would thenceforth be complete which did not mention his authorship of the 'Buik' as having been mooted, but inconclusive because he was held to suffer the fate of those who would proye too much. Dr Brown had on his side the clear evidence of the printed date, the respect for the dead hand and the fact that the 'Bruce' is just such a work as succeeding generations love to enrich with further episodes, of which one (in Hart's print) had been detected and others seemed suspicious, and that some of the "parallels" he adduced were, at the least, extremely

[1] In his review of Dr Brown's 'Wall. and Br.' in 'Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen,' cvii., pp. 419-23. Mr W. Hand Brown, 'Mod. Lang. Notes,' xvi. (1901), p. 54, wrote: "The impression produced on my mind by previous reading of the 'Bruce' was . . . that the 'Bruce' has been extensively tampered with by some one between 1420 and 1487. These impressions are confirmed by Mr Brown's researches."

[2] In the letter written to Dr Furnivall to open the discussion after Dr Neilson had read his paper to the Philological Society on 22nd June 1900: see 'Glasgow Herald,' 25th June 1900.

[3] In the 'Daily News,' 18th October 1900.

[4] In his admirable edition of the 'Bruce,' London (A. & C. Black), 1900, pp. xxiii + 547.

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disquieting.[5] It was felt that, while his particular theory of redaction had failed, another might not, that the 'Bruce' might well have been rehandled and expanded, as the contemporary Latin Chronicle of Fordun was, and might yet be proved to contain other elements added since Barbour's day, and that meantime the 'Buik' must remain anonymous, with the date 1438.[6]

[5] "And the gud lord of Douglass syne
Gert mak ane cass of siluir fyne
Annamylyt throu subtilte.
Thar-in the Kyngis hert did he,
And ay about his halss it bare,
And fast bownyt for his fare."—(Br. XX. 303.)

Cp. third redaction of Froissart (Lettenhove, 1863, pp. 119-21): "Si fu ouvers et embasmé et *son coer pris* et enbaupsmiés et *couchiés en petit vasselet d'or si ricement ouvré que on ne pooit mieuls*, et mis une chainne d'or. Messire Guillaume Douglas *en encarga la chaine et le vasselet d'or ou li coers dou roi Robert.*"

"Thar wes ilk day Iustyng of wer,
And scrymmyng maid full apertly,
And men tane on ather party."—(Br. XIX. 520.)

"Toute-fois y avoit-il tous les jours gens escarmouchants d'une part et d'autre, et souvent des morts et des pris."—(Froissart, xli.)

The earliest sixteenth century Scottish historians use Froissart, not the 'Bruce,' as their source. Cp. Major's account of the 1327 invasion, VI. iii.: "And in this part of my history more credence will be given to Froissart," and Stewart, 'Bk. Cron. Sc.' (Record Publ., III. 432)—

"Maister Johne Frosard . . .
Quhais sentence is nocht for to impugn."

Froissart appropriated the Chronicle written. as a 'History of Edward III., 1326-61,' by Jean le Bel (*b. c.* 1290, *d.* 1370), who had served among the Hainault auxiliaries under Jean de Hainaut with the army of Edward III. in the campaign of 1327 against the Scots. From 1373 onwards Froissart arranged the historical gleanings of his travels—*e.g.*, in Scotland (1363). It is impossible that Barbour can have seen "advance sheets of Froissart's work." Conclusion: The 'Bruce' was edited in the fifteenth century by somebody borrowing from a very late text of Froissart (not from le Bel). J. T. T. Brown in the 'Athenæum,' 24th November 1900, and *op. cit.*, pp. 137 and 150.

[6] *E.g.*, Professor W. A. Craigie, 'Eng. Hist. Rev.,' xvi. (1901), pp. 405-6. "Mr Neilson's results are to be received with some caution. . . . However probable his contention may be, his methods in proving it lack something in clearness and completeness."

T. F. Henderson, 'Engl. Studien,' xxx. (1902), p. 289: "The arguments of Mr Neilson, at present, seem to me unconvincing. . . . The large majority of his passages are the merest commonplaces."

J. H. Millar, 'A Literary History of Scotland' (Fisher Unwin, 1903), p. 15: "The resemblances in phrase and tone may be adequately

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CHAPTER V.: SIMILAR LINES IN THE 'BRUCE' AND THE 'BUIK.'

§ 19. An Irreducible Minimum.

The similarities of language in the 'Bruce' and the 'Buik' which fanned such flames of controversy are so numerous as to be embarrassing, and it is impossible to handle all the material without tedious repetition, because almost any given line may be compared with several. To reduce the examples, for the moment, to manageable proportions we usually cite only once those which recur *passim* in both texts, and we exclude those which (*a*) can be readily matched elsewhere than in Barbour; or (*b*) seem mainly verbal, and therefore admit of classification under the general heading of 'Language' in Chapter

accounted for by the hypothesis that the 'Buik' was the work of an enthusiastic disciple of the Archdeacon."

Dr J. Maitland Thomson in 'Sc. Hist. Rev.,' October 1909: "When we find Neilson compelled to ascribe the 'Buik' to Barbour and to assign it a conjectural date sixty years earlier . . . we cannot regard the position as secure. Some day a 'vigorous and rigorous' criticism may draw a clear line between the original poem and the later accretions."

Wm. Geddie, 'Bibliography of Middle Scots,' S.T.S., 1908, p. 66, places the 'Buik' under the heading "Barbour: Disputed or Spurious Works."

Dr P. Giles, in 'Cambridge Hist. Eng. Lit.,' i., p. 448: "Either the book is the work of Barbour preserved in a somewhat later form, or the author was saturated with Barbour's diction, so that he continually repeats his phrases." [The Master of Emmanuel takes no risks!]

Professor Gregory Smith, 'Encycl. Brit.,' 1910, art. Barbour: "The 'argument' as it stands is nothing more than an exaggerated inference from parallel passages. . . . Should the assumption be proved to be correct, it will be by 'evidence' other than that which has been produced to this date."

J. E. Wells, 'Manual of the Writings in M.E.' (Yale Univ. Press, 1916), xv+941 pp.; p. 106: "The efforts to ascribe 'B. A.' to Barbour are not acceptable."

The Oxford English Dictionary maintains 1438 to this day in its (rare) quotations from the 'Buik.'

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XIII.; or (*c*) occur in the two portions of the 'Bruce' which, whatever the rest may be, are demonstrably authentic, and thus merit separate treatment—viz., the Prologue and Wyntoun's Excerpt. Opinions will differ as to what constitutes notable similarity, and as to the precise point at which agreement becomes more than verbal. Any list must be to some extent arbitrary.[1] Omitting as far-fetched many of the "parallels" hitherto adduced, and including others which have passed unobserved, we believe the following, arranged according to their order in the 'Bruce,' to be an irreducible minimum:—

N.B.—*Examples quoted later, in §§ 25 and 26, are not entered here. The French text is added, when of interest. Lines not paralleled in any of the French MSS. examined are indicated "not in F." In the right-hand column, in square brackets, we add (as a safeguard against rash assumptions) a few "parallels" occurring in other writers than Barbour.*

THE 'BRUCE.'	THE 'BUIK OF ALEXANDER.'
YOUTH OF JAMES OF DOUGLAS.	
Douglas . . . That wes than bot a litill page; Bot syne he wes off gret waslage . . . (I 289)	Quhan I was ane lytill page (I 1253) Thow had bene of great vassalage =molt estiés preus (I 2835)
. . . he thocht ay encrely To do his deid awysily (I 301)	And dois his dedes auysedly =en ses fais avisés (II 674 and IV 10990)
And tak the vre that God wald send . . . (I 312) Cp.: Syne fall quhat evir that God vill send (IX 32, IX 68, XI 405)	Now cum quhat euer God will send (III 7307) To leif or die quhidder God will send (I 637, III 5291) =De vivre ou de morir a hounor entendon (I 637, III 5291)

[1] Dr Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 112, estimates the number of lines common to both texts as "between 150 and 200."

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Br.	B. A.
He wyst nocht quhat to do na say (I 318)	That I na wait quhat to do na say = je ne sai que pensser (III 5974)
Bot he wes nocht sa fayr that we Suld spek gretly off his beaute: In wysage wes he sumdeill gray, And had blak har, as ic hard say; Bot off lymmys he wes weill maid, With banys gret and schuldris braid. His body wes weyll [maid and lenye] As thai that saw hym said to me (I 381)	Bot he was nocht sa fare, suthly, That men bird spek of him greatly For he wes brown, rede in visage = Mais n'estoit pas si biaus c'on en deüst parler Bruns estoit et vermaus . . . (II 2697) With fare visage and sume dele rede = Visage lÿonas, vermel comme charbon (III 3189) With lymmys square and manly maid, And armys lang and schoulderis braid [Not in F.] (I 671)
And meyk and sweyt in cumpany (I 390)	Courtes and meik in cumpany (II 3439)
Till Ector dar I nane comper (I 403)	To him [Alexander] I mak na man compair = A celui ne se prent roys ne dus ne marcis (II 75) And his gude eme, quhome to that I Dar compare nane in na degre = Et son oncle, vers qui je ne l'os aätir. (I 1526)

Douglas, with the help of the Bishop of St Andrews, joins the Bruce.

Schyr Edmund Cumyn als wes slayn And othir als of mekill mayn (II 37)	How he Erll Sabalour hes slane And uthir als of mekill mane (I 1449)
"Thow sall take Ferrand my palfray; For thar na horss is in this land Sa swycht, na ȝeit sa weill at hand" (II 118)	. . . my steid . . . Staluart and swyft and weill at hand = mes chevaus courans et d'aler volentieus (II 3435) [Cp. *Guy Warw.*, 6120: Ich haue the brought here a stede, In this world is better non at nede. *I.e.*, the steed which Guy gives to the Duke of Pavia]
And lap on hym delyuerly (II 142)	And on him lap delyverly = et ressaut en la sele (IV 9749) [Cp. *G. W.*, 4148: And lepe vp on his stede an heye]

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Br.	B. A.
Der god, that is off hevyn king! (II 144)	"Deir God," said he, "be heuennis king!" (IV 8399)
	For be him that is hevennis king (I 570)
	[Neither in F.]
	[Cp. *G. W.*, 6429: And swore bi God, heuen king]
All him alane the way he tais (II 146)	All him allane, the air he tais = Seuls (II 30)
He thocht weile he suld be worthy; For all his eldris war douchty (II 165)	That him worthy bird to be; His eldars war of sik bounte = (MSS.) Que bien doit estre preus, ses ancestres fu tés (II 1760)
Thair frendschip (lordschip IX 306) woux ay mar and mar (II 170, IX 306)	The mischeif vox ay mare and mare = La fu grant le meschief (IV 10148)

THE BRUCE DEFIES AYMER DE VALENCE.

Bot thar fayis war may then thai, Be fiften hunder, as ik herd say. (II 229)	Threttie thousand and ma, perfay, Be seuen hundreth, as I hard say. = il furent bien, .xxx. mil et .vij. cent (I 187)
And barownys that war bauld as bar (II 233)	The duke, that was bauld as bair = qui molt fu irascus (I 2350)
Saw thaim cum swa inforcely (II 314)	Than Gaudefeir enforsitly Cum, = moult effraéement (II 4633)

THE BATTLE OF METHVEN.

"And a thing will I to yow say, That he that deis [*v.r.* dois] for his cuntre Sall herbryit in-till hewyn be." Quhen this was said, thai saw cumand Thar fayis ridand, ner at the hand Arayit rycht awisely, Willful to do chewalry (II 339)	Quha for his Lord dois, he sall be Harbreid with Angellis gle = Qui muert por son seignor, o Dieu a mansion (I 651) Emynedus saw neir approchand His fais, richt felloun neir cumand (I 815) For with richt great cheualry Thair fais before thaim sall thay sie [Not in F.] (I 180)
That speris all to-fruschyt war (II 350)	That speiris all to-frushit are (IV 8654)
And rowtis ruyd about thaim dang (II 356)	And routis royd about him dang (IV 10062)

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BR.

Men mycht haiff seyn in-to that thrang
Knychtis that wycht and hardy war,
Undyr horss feyt defoulyt thar,
Sum woundyt, and sum all ded:
The gress woux off the blud all rede,
And thai, that held on horss, in hy
Swappyt owt swerdis sturdyly
And swa fell strakys gave and tuk,
That all the renk about them quouk.
(II 357-65; cp. XII 582)

[Bruce] . . .
Sa hard and hewy dyntis gave
(II 369)]

His folk thaim put in hard assay,
To stynt thair fais mekill mycht
(II 371-2)
[Cp.: The king . . .
Wes set in-till full hard assay
(II 412, III 246, 270)
Thow art set in-till hard assay
(III 652)
And put him [=Edward I] in sa hard assay (IV 192)]

Hys assenȝhe gan he cry
(II 378, III 27)
He all till-hewyt that he our-tuk
(II 381)

To conquyr thaim endles honour
(II 397)

And to Philip sic rout he raucht,
That thocht he wes off mekill maucht (II 420)
[Cp.: And swa gret rowtis till him raucht
That had nocht beyn his mekill maucht. . . . (XIX 587)]

B. A.

Vnder hors feit defoulit ware
=Honmes mors et navrés contre terre gesir
(IV 9872: cp. also I 2440-1)
The grene gras vox of blude all rede
And couered with wondit men and dede
=Et l'erbe verde fu des mors ensanglentée (IV 9254)
The sword he swappit out in hy
=et tret l'espée nue (I 155)
That the assemble all to-schoke
And the renkis all to-quoke
=Que li renc en fremissent environ et en lé (IV 9709)

The hauy dintis to gif and taik
(I 2443)

He hes put to our hard assay
(I 3158)
War oft set on hard assay (I 2470)
He hes him set in hard assay
(I 2848)
To stynt thair fais (I 2294, 2498)
[Cp. Wynt.: To stynt with strenth thar fais mycht
(W, V 3252: quoting the 'Brute')]

His ensigne than can he cry
[Not in F.] (I 108)
He all to-hewit that he our-tuke
=Cui il ataint a cop . . . Tout le trenche (IV 8735)
For to conqueir honour lestand,
=pour honneur conquester
(II 4920)
And Lyonell with all his maucht
Wpon the hede ane rout him raucht,
That to the schoulderis he him claue
And dede doun to the erd him draif.
=Et Lyones le fiert en la teste chenue
Que l'espée li a jusqu'as dens embatue (I 161)
Pirrus him smot with all his maucht,
And sa rude ane rout hes him raucht
(I 1457)
[Gij of him failed nauȝt
With the ax he hath him rauȝt,
That his heued he him to-clef:
All to ded to ground he draf
(G. W. (Caius) 6903)]

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Br.	B. A.
Rycht to the toune thai held thar way, Rycht glaid and ioyfull off thar pray. (II 444)	The furreouris hes tane the way Towart the oist, mery and gay =Li Grieu se retornoient a l'ost molt liement (I 175)
Bot he that may thar warand be (II 503)	For he his warrand weill may be =qui bien le puet guier (III 6331)

JOHN OF LORNE ATTACKS THE BRUCE.

The quhethir he bauldly thaim abaid. (III 14)	And Marciane baldly him abaid =Et Marciens l'atent (II 1632)
. . . at thar fryst metyng War layd at erd but recoveryng (III 16)	. . . into thair first cumming War laid at eard but recovering [Not in F.] (IV 8622)
	For ane . . . Amang thame, at thare first meting Was slane, but ony recouering. =D'un de lor meillor homes le jor se desevrerent. (I 904)
His men till him he gan rely. (III 34 and IV 426)	His men to him he can rely =toute sa gent ralie (I 98)
To withdraw ws . . . Till we cum owt off thar daunger (III 43)	With-draw vs hyne of thare danger, =Or retraions arriere (II 1282)
And the king him abandonyt ay To defend behind his menȝe. That he reskewyt all the flearis And styntyt swagat the chassaris (III 48, 51)	Ay behind can him abandoun (I 1992) For to defend all the flearis And for to stony the chaissaris [Not in F.] (I 2777)
[Cp. : Bot gud Gaudifer the worthi Abandonyt him so worthyly, For [to] reskew all the fleieris, And for to stonay the chasseris (III 79)]	

THE THREE MACINDROSSERS ATTACK THE BRUCE.

That arme and schuldyr flaw him fra (III 115)	Quhill shulder and arme flew him fra =Si grant cop li donna Sus la senestre espaule que toute li copa (IV 10167)
And strak with spuris the stede in hy, And he lansyt furth delyuerly. (III 121)	With spurris he straik him sturdely, And he lansit deliuerly (I 1433) With spurris he brocht him in hy, And he lansit deliverly =Des esperons le hurte, cil tressaut durement (I 2505)

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Br.	B. A.
He rouschit doun off blud all rede (III 139; V 645)	He rushit (duschit I 1047) doun of blude all rede (I 1047 and IV 10239) [Not in F.]
And fra the hart be discumfyt, The body is nocht worth a myt (III 197 and XII 187)	quhair hartis failȝeis The laif of lymmes lytle vailȝeis =Qu'en couart cuer failli vont li membre faillant (II 1421-22) Sic thing as this hes discumfit Thare hartis all hale (II 2781-2) Nocht worth ane myte (I 1776) His haubrek helpit him nocht ane myte (I 2266) [Neither in F.]
Ane rycht stalwart castell (III 732)	Ane stalwart Castel gart he mak =fist .i. chastel fermer (I 6)

THE SIEGE OF KILDRUMMY.

And to the castell [=Kildrummy] went in hy, And assegit it rygorusly; And mony tyme full hard assalit, Bot for to tak it ȝeit thame falit. For thai within war richt vorthy, And thame defendit douchtely, And ruschit thair fais oft [E ost], agane, Sum best voundit, and sum ves slane. (IV 87-94)	(See opposite 'Br.' XVII 292)
Till on the morn that day wes lycht (IV 158, 165; V 114, IX 207, X 467, XIII 514, XIV 172, XIX 715)	Quhil on the morne that day was licht =L'endemain au matin quant solaus dut lever (II 336) (cp. III 7916, &c.) [Qwhil on the morn that day was licht Wynt., W, VII 872 (so V 1012, 2874, VI 1203)]
And sone wes ryssyn schynand brycht (IV 166) [Cp.: The sone wes rysyn schynand bricht (VIII 216)]	The sone was rysing and schynit bricht =Li solaus fu levés, qui clerement luisi (II 4072)
And slew all that thai mycht ourtak (ourta XIII 93) (IV 415; so V 95, XIII 93, X 78, XVI 197, 638, XVII 100, XVIII 325, &c.)	He slew all that he micht ouerta, =(MSS.) Qui il ataint a cop (IV 9161)

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Br.	B. A.
Douglas and Bruce in Arran.	
For thai that dredand war to de (IV 417)	And thay that doutand war to de =[MSS.] ciex qu'est mehaignié (IV 9358)
	[For in the pres thai war sa stad That thai were doutand all to de (Wynt., W, III 871)]
Than went thai to the kyng in hy, And hym salusit full curtasly (IV 508)	The king to him is went in hy And salust him full courtesly =Cele part va li rois . . . Belement l'araisonne (II 50)
	That salust me sa courtesly =si courtoisement . . . salué (II 3078)
The Bruce in Carrick.	
Sic hansell to the folk gaf he (V 120)	With me . . . justit he And thare sik hansell gaue he me That I am takin, =et me fist tele estraine (II 4668)
Bot and I lif in lege pouste Thair ded sall rycht weill vengit be (V 165)	For gif I leif in liege pouste, Thow sall of him weill vengit be, =se je vif (II 3153; cp. II 3120, IV 8575)
Lap on, and went vith thaim in hy (V 214)	He lap on and went furth in hy =monte en palefroi (III 6566)
Exploits of Douglas.	
Quhar in a chalmer preualy He held him and his cumpany (V 287)	Into my chalmer all preualy =tous seulz en chambre (II 2410)
Douglass . . . That than enforsit on thame the cry (V 355)	Than thay enforcit on him the cry =Adonques enforcierent et la noise et li cris (II 4501)
A Man and his Two Sons waylay the Bruce.	
Till he vmbethocht him at the last And in his hert can vmbecast (V 551)	Quhill he him umbethocht at the last And in his hart cleirly can cast, That, &c. =Puis si s'est apensés (II 3265)
And syne vend to the vod avay (V 561)	And syne went to the wod away [Not in F.] (II 3972)

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Br.	B. A.
Bot he, that had his suerd on hicht, Raucht him sic rout in randoun richt, Richt he the hede to harniss clafe, And him doun ded to the erd drafe . . .	Porrus, that had his suord on hicht, Him raucht a rout in randoun richt That, &c. =Porrus qui r'ot la seue contremont estendue Li donne sour son elme tel cop en sa venue Que, &c. (IV 9833)
He ruschit doune of blude all rede; And quhen the king saw thai war ded (V 631-45)	He rushit doun of blude all rede; Quhen Porrus sawe that he was dede [Not in F.] (IV 10239)

THE BRUCE MAKES A STAND AT A FORD.

And raid till him in full gret hy. He smat the first sa rygorusly . . . Till he doun to the erd hym bare (VI 135, VII 449) [Cp.: Till him he raid in full gret hy (XII 45)]	And towart him raid in full gret hy And smot the first sa sturdely =Si fiert l'un (I 1237) Ferrand he straik with spurris in hy, And straik the first sa rigorusly That throw the bodie he him bair =Et fiert le premerain qu'en vuide les archons . . . Par mi le cors li passe fer et fust et pignons (I 117) . . . he smot ane Araby That he met first, sa sturdely That deid doun to the erd him bare =.j. Arrabi felon encontra premerain (I 1177)
And he that stalward wes and stout (VI 146)	Bot he that staluart was and stout =que molt ot grant fierté (I 1818)
And sa gud payment can thaim ma (VI 148)	And sa great payment to thame mais (I 1540) [Cp. Wynt., C 3778: mad sic paye]
That, had he nocht the bettir beyn, He had beyn ded forouten veyn (VI 162, VII 219)	Had he nocht all the better bene, He had bene deid forouttin wene =Se ne fust trop puissant ja n'en fust escapés (IV 9174) Had ȝe nocht all the better bene, Thay had ȝow slane, that men had sene =Se trop ne fussiés preux nul vous fust encontré (II 4753)
. . . how he sa hardely Adressit hym agane thaim all (VI 173)	And he allane full sturdely Addressit him agane thame all, =Et il, seuls contre eulz tous, les a bien requellis (II 4503)

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Br.	B. A.
Valour of the Bruce.	
Gyffand and takand voundis vyde (VI 288)	Thame worthis assale and thame defend = Assaillir et deffendre (II 1877 ; so II 3044, 4890, &c.)
Oft till defende and oft assaill (VI 330)	
[For to defend or till assale (VIII 283. Repeated XVII 242 ; cp. XII 556, XVII 242, 260, &c.)]	
[Valour] Has so gret varnasyng of vit That it all peralis weill can se (VI 350)	How he of wit had warnessing = de son sens le retour (II 2520)
Prowess of Bruce and Douglas.	
Bot the chassaris sped thame so fast, That thai ourtuk sum at the last (VI 439)	Toward thame we raid sa fast That we ouertuke thame at the last [Not in F.] (IV 10555)
That vith his swerd, that scharply schare, The arm he fra the body bare (VI 643)	And with his sword that scharply share = de l'espée esmolue (I 146)
in the dawyng, Richt as the day begouth to spryng (VII 318)	Quhill on the morn in the morning Richt as the day begouth to spring = Au matin par son l'aube, que jor dut esclairier, (I 77)
For quhen that he his poynt mycht se (VII 388)	And quhan that he his point culd sie (I 1409, 2367)
[Cp. : In all that tyme schir Amery . . . In Carleill lay, his point to se (VII 500)]	Emynedus . . . May se his point (I 1499)
Till top our taill he gert him ly (VII 455)	That top our taill he gart him ly [Not in F.] (I 2264)
In his risyng sic rowt hym gaf, That stane-ded till the erd he draf (VII 469)	That stane-deid to the eard he gais = Mort le trebusche a terre (IV 9642)
Syne in a sop assemblit ar (VII 567)	All in ane sop assemblit ar = mellées en .j. tas (I 110, IV 9115)
And he doune to the erd can ga (VII 585)	And he doun to the erd can ga = Et cil chiet del cheval (IV 10168)

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Br.	B. A. .
DOUGLAS AMBUSHES PHILIP DE MOWBRAY'S FORCE.	
and that land He maid till him all obeysand (VIII 9)	it [the land] all is at his will And als obeisand him till (III 6719) [Cp. Wynt., W (II 683) And thai that duellis thar in that land He gert till him be obeyand (C obeyssande)]
That in his hert gret angyr has (VIII 16)	And in his hart great anger hes =enbrons et pensis (I 746) =En ot au cuer dolour (IV 10816)
And vith vapnys that scharply schare Sum in the furde thai bakward bare, And sum vith arrowes barblyt braid (VIII 55)	With arrowis barblit bare=traie (I 1623) With arrowis braid=traient (I 1649)
With spurys he strak the steid of priss (VIII 79)	With spurris he straik the steid of pryde =Il broche le destrier (I 2617)
THE BATTLE OF LOUDON HILL.	
as man of gret nobillay (VIII 211)	ane ald of great nobillay =viel homme vaillant (II 4820)
Thair speris, thair pennownys & thar scheldis Of licht illumynit all the feldis. Thair best [&] browdyn bricht baneris, And hors hewit on seir maneris, And cot-armouris off seir colour, And hawbrekis, that war quhit as flour [EH colowris: flouris] Maid thame glitterand, as thai war lik Till angellis he, of hewinis rik. (VIII 227)	(See opposite 'Br.' XI 464-72) With thair baneris And ensigneis on seir maneris =Mainte ensaigne de soie (I 309) His armis [="weapons"] quhitar war than flour (I 1214; cp. I 881)
For gif the formast egirly Be met, ȝhe sall se suddanly The henmast sall abasit be, And thouch that thai be ma than we . . . (VIII 243)	Thocht thay be ma nor we, for-thy Seik we the first sa sturdely, That the hindmaist abasit be! =Se il sont plus de nous, tant bien les requerron Que par les premerains, ceux derriers esmaion! (I 629)
Bot thai war all to few, I hicht, Agane so feill to stand in stour (VIII 268)	Bot thay war all to few to ficht Agane sa fele bot nocht-for-thy . . . [Not in F.] (I 1702)
Now gais the nobill kyng his way, Richt stoutly and in gude aray (VIII 272)	Now rydis the furreouris thair way, Richt stoutly and in gude array. =Li Grieu issent del ost por querre la vitaille (I 55)

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Br.	B. A.
Enbrasit vith that thar scheldis braid (VIII 295)	embraissit thair scheldis = Lor escus a lor cols (I 890)
Till red blude ran of voundis rath (VIII 322)	Rede blude ran out of woundis raith = Et faire au devaler l'erbe verde rougir (IV 9873)
Wit ȝe weill, he wes full way (VIII 347)	He turned his brydill and he to-ga = Atant tire son frain, s'est arrier retourné (II 4040)
[Cp. Than, vit ȝe weill, his men wes wa (IX 42)]	
He turnit his bridill and to-ga (VIII 351)	Turnit thair brydillis and to-ga = S'en vont fuiant (I 2753)
That sum war ded and sum war tane (VIII 353, IX 263)	And sum war deid and sum war tane [Not in F.] (IV 9318)
The remanand thar gat ar gane (VIII 354)	The remanent thair gait ar gane = Li remanant s'enfuit (IV 8624)

THE BRUCE IN BUCHAN AND AT PERTH.

Syne fall quhat euir that god vill send (IX 32)	Now cum quhat euer God will send [Not in F.] (III 7307)
	To leif or die quhidder God will send = La morrai ou vivrai si mors m'i est jugie (I 637)
Thai lugit thame all thair that nycht, And on the morn, quhen day ves licht (IX 206)	(See opposite 'Br.' XII 333)
The discurrouris saw thame cumande With baneris to the vynd vafand [E wawand] (IX 245)	With baneris to the wynd waiffand [Not in F.] (I 236)
	The banare waiffand to the wynd. = Et la baniere au vent contremont desploie (III 7022)
Thai tursit thair harnass halely (IX 360)	Tursit thair harnes halely = Mener les destriers (I 73)

EDWARD BRUCE.

And lap on hors deliuerly (IX 566)	Thay lap on hors delyuerly = A ce mot sont monté (II 4686)
I trow that worthyar than he Micht nocht in his tyme fundyn be, Outakyn his brother anyrly, To quhom, in-to gude cheuelry, I dare peir nane. . . . [H I dare compare nane] (IX 662)	For ane worthiar knicht na he, I trow thair may nane fundin be. = Car nul meillor de lui ne puet dame besier (I 3063)
	Outtane the king allanerly, And his gude eme, quhome to that I Dar compare nane (I 1525)

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Br.	B. A.
THOMAS RANDOLPH.	
[Thomas Randolph] wes certis richt worthy And of so souerane gret bounte (X 273)	Ane souerane bounte hes him distanit here = Li ont li dieu donné souvraine destinée. (II 294)
[Cp. He . . . Suld weill be prisit soueranely (X 299)]	I lof my goddis soueranely, = souvrainuement (II 2336)
He wes fulfillit of all bwnte (X 294; XII 423)	That is fulfillit of all bounte = qui hardis est assés (II 2396, III 8094, &c.)
Thai durst nocht byde na mak debait (X 602)	Durst nane abyde to mak debait = Tourné s'en vont fuiant (IV 9156)
The erll wes handlyt thair sa hat (X 693)	And auld Clarus was handlit hait = se combat (IV 8761)
PREPARATIONS FOR BANNOCKBURN.	
He prysit hym in his hert gretly (XI 58)	He praisit him in his hart greatly = En son cuer l'aime et prise (I 2947)
That we of purposs ger thame faill (XI 68)	That we of purpose gar him faill [Not in F.] (I 2237)
Armyt on hors, bath hede (fut XIX 412) and hand (XI 105, XIX 412)	Armit, on hors, baith fute and hand. = N'i a nul qui ne port rade quane forbie (I 1670)
	With ma than ane hundreth thowsand Armit weill baith fute and hand [Not in F.] (III 6630; 7079, &c.)
	[Constantyne, with twa thousand Off armyt men, baith fut and hand Wynt., W, V 3314)]
Men mycht se than, that had beyn by, Mony ane vorthy man and vycht (XI 126)	Thare mycht men se that had bene by = La peüst l'en vëoir (I 3100)
	Than micht thay se that had bene by = La veïssiez (I 1759)
	Thare micht men se into that place Mony ane worthy man and wicht = La peüssiés véoir (IV 9484)
Quhy suld I mak to lang my tale? (XI 135)	Quhy suld I mak to lang my tale? (III 5937)
	Quhair-to sould I mak lang my taill = Que vous iroie je toute jour acontant (IV 10358)
	Quhy suld I tell to lang my taill = Que vous diroie je? (IV 11097)

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Br.	B. A.
And sum lugit without the townys In tentis and in palȝeownys (XI 138)	Of tentis and of pauilliounis, All ludged thame the barrounis =De tentes et de treis (III 6180) Thair was mony pauillioun Stentit thair without the toun =on ot tendu maint pavillon (IV 10929)
And the kyng, quhen his menȝe wer Deuisit in-to battalis ser, His awne battale ordanit he, And quha suld at his bridill be. (XI 170)	Now hes the King his battellis all Devysit, and ordainit all that sall Be at the brydill of the melle =Or a li rois des Griex sa bataille ordenée (III 8263)
[Cp. And quhen the kyng apon this viss Had ordanit as I heir deuiss His battalis and his stering (XI 180)]	Devyse at laser quha sall be With me into my awin battale (III 8184-5) At my brydill with-hald the =Si serés a mon frain droit (III 8191)
For in thair souerane gret bownte Atour the layff affyit he (XI 178)	(See opposite 'Br.' X 273.)
The sonne wes brycht and schynand cler, And armys, that new burnyst wer, So blenknyt with the sonnys beyme That all the felde ves in ane leyme Vith baneris richt freschly flawmand, And pensalis to the vynd vaffand (XI 188)	The sone-shyne cleir on armouris bricht Quhill all the land lemit on licht =Li soleus s'esbrandist qui en lor armes raie (I 1636) The pensale to the wynd waiffand =Les langues de l'enseigne lait au vent baloier (I 1036)
. . . and thoucht at thai Micht weill put thame in-till assay Of hard fechting in stalwart stour For till maynteym weill his honour (XI 260)	(See opposite 'Br.' XI 400.)
And sawe thame wilfull to fulfill His liking, with gude hert and will (XI 266)	. . . wilfull to fulfill His avow with gude hert and will =entalentés De son veu acomplir (XIV 8370, 8926)
And callit all his consell preue And said thame, "lordingis now ȝe se . . ." (XI 270)	The gude duke callit his men preuie And said, "Lordingis, now may ȝe sie . . ." =Il en a ses barons doucement apelés, Si lor a dit: Seignors, &c. (I 2397)
[Cp. And said, "lordingis now may ȝe se . . ." (II 322)]	"Lordingis," he said, "now may ȝe se . . ." =Il a dit a ses homes: "Esgardés, chevalier" (I 2231)

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Br.	B. A.
He gaf the vaward in leding (XI 306)	And the first [*i.e.*, the vanguard] gif I in leding =je doing (III 7050)
The tothir battale wes gevin to lede (XI 314)	The tothir battelle in leding I gif =Or vous weil je donner La seconde bataille (III 8036)
On Sonday than in the mornyng Weill soyn eftir the sonne-rising (XI 374)	To-morne airly in the morning Ane lytle forow the sone rysing =Demain au matinet, quant l'aube ert esclairie (II 2827)
Throu-out the host syne gert he cry That all suld arme thame hastely (XI 392)	[Cp. Wynt., W, V 2782: And gert oure all thare hostis cry That nane, &c.]
To wyn all or de vith honour, For to manteyme that stalward stour (XI 400)	For to mentene ane stalwart stour =en. i. estour aidier (I 1402) For to manteme ane stalwart stour =por grant fais enbracier (I 1446)
That nane for dout of dede suld fale Quhill discumfit war the battale (XI 408, XII 204, 489)	For dout of deid will nane the fale! [Not in F.] (III 7159) So I 963, III 8041, IV 8548 [Cp. G. W. (Caius). For doubte of deth y woll not flee] To disconfit the great battale =De vaincre la bataille (IV 10385)
Quhilk of thame had of help mister (XI 452)	Hes thou of help great mister 3it? =avés mestier d'ayue? (II 3626) [Cp. Gif ony man in dout were stad And neid of he p or mister had (Wynt., W, IV 1737)]
And basnetis weil burnyst bricht, That gaf agane the sonne gret licht Thai saw so fele browdyn baneris, Standartis, pennownys apon speris... That the mast host and the stoutest Of Crystyndome, and ek the best, Suld be abasit for till se . . . (XI 462-72)	He sawe sa feill broudin baneris, And pennonis vpon seir maneris, And helmis als and vther armin, That cleirly agane the Sone shein . . . The greatest hoist and the stoutest, Of ony cuntre, and the best, Suld of that sicht abasit be =Tant riche confanon contre le vent bruïr, Tant elme vert et cler au soleil resplendir . . . La plus fiere ost du mont s'en peüst effraïr (I 821-31)
Bot bad [*v. r.* lat] thame in-to commoune say (XI 484)	And said all into common than =Tuit dient en commun (II 3236)

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Br.	B. A.,
the nobill king Gaf all his men reconforting (XI 498)	thy skirming Geuis to vs all recomforting =nous font tout rehetier (I 1078)
Com with thair battalis approchand, The banerys to the vynd vaffand (XI 512; so IX 246)	He saw the battellis approchand Wtth baneris to the wynd waiffand [Not in F.] (I 235)
Cum on forouten dreid or aw (XI 555)	Sa come thay on but dreid or aw [Not in F.] (I 312)

SIR HENRY DE BOHUN CHARGES THE BRUCE.

Armyt in armys gude and fyne (XII 32)	Armit in armouris gude and fyne =Molt richement armés (I 1456); =armés (I 1706) [Wel araid wyth sper & scheld and in armure god and fyn ('Sir Fer.' 2666)]
And toward him he went in hy (XII 39)	And towart him he come in hy =Vers lui est trestornés (I 3225)
ane dynt That nouthir hat no helme mycht stynt The hevy dusche that he him gaf, That he the hed till harnyss claf. The hand ax-schaft ruschit in twa. (XII 55)	. . . sic ane dynt Bot the helme the straik can stynt =Qu'il ne puist le bon helme entamer (IV 10257) And, with the grete dynt that he gaif, The sword brak in the hiltis in tua, =Quant l'espée li faut, qui en trois est volée (I 1564) He socht him sa that it him gaif, The heid vnto the schoulderis claif, =jusqu'en la chainture l'a fendu et copé (I 1821)
A gret schot till thame can thai mak (XII 77)	Ane schot on Pirrus can he mak =vait ferir Pirrus (I 1486) Emynedus ane great shot can make, =.j. grant poindre (I 1790)
Bot menyt his hand-ax-schaft (XII 97)	Quhill that the hand-ax schaft held hale . . . . . . Bot sone it brak; than was he wa. =Tant con hache li dure, en va sour aus le pis, Mais le fust est rompu et le fer est croisis (II 4497-9)

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Br.	B. A.
Bruce Addresses his Army.	
Thai war all helit in-to swat (XII 146)	Be haillit in blude and sueat alsa =d'aigre suör couvrir (I 869; so also IV 10517)
And fra the hert be discumfite, The body is nocht vorth a myt (XII 187)	(See opposite 'Br.' III 197)
For dout of dede we sall nocht fale (XII 204)	(See opposite 'Br.' XI 408)
And, certis, I warne 3ow of a thing (XII 254)	and thus I warne 3ow all, Be thay assail3eit hardely And encountered egerly . . . (III 7249)
To set stoutness agane felony, And mak swagat ane iuperdy (XII 261)	And gif we foly agane foly And sagait mak ane iepardy [Not in F.] (III 6072)
Quharfor I 3ow requeir and pray (XII 263) (125, 14)	Quharefore I requyre 3ow and pray [Not in F.] (II 561)
To meit thame that first sall assemmyll So stoutly that the henmast trymmyll (XII 267)	(See opposite 'Br.' VIII 243 and cp.) Thair first battell thusgait can semble Quhair hardy can gar the couartis trimble =Les batailles s'assemblent (IV 8455)
Hap to vencuss the gret battale In-till 3our handis for-outen faill (XII 273)	foroutten faill That suld vincus the great battaill (III 5401)
Gif 3e conteyn 3ow manfully (XII 277)	Bot we contene vs manly (I 2481)
Now [makis] 3ow reddy till the ficht, God help vs, that is mast of mycht! I red armyt all nycht 3he be . . . (XII 323)	To-morne, gif God will, we sall fecht. Now help God for his mekill mycht! =Demain ert la bataille, or nous en ayt Dés! (III 7986)
The Morning of the Battle.	
Aud swa gat all the nycht baid thai Till on the morn that it wes day (XII 333; so also, XIX 404, 503, 752)	Thus armit all the nicht thay lay Quhill on the morne that it was day =Ainsi jurent en armes . . . L'endemain par matin, devant solail levé (III 8324)
	Apone the morne quhen it was day =L'endemain au matin quant jour fu apparu (III 7231; IV 10787)
	[Quhill on the morne that it wes day (Wynt., W, IV 358) Til on the morne at it wes day (Wynt., W, V 3519)]

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Br.	B. A.
For in punȝeis is oft hapnyne Quhill for to vyne and quhill to tyne (XII 373)	It fallis in weir quhilis to tyne, And for to wyn ane uthir syne = Une foys gäaingne l'en et autre fois pert on (II 4877)
Of gret vorschip and of bounte (XII 380 ; XVI 530)	For the great worship and bountie = Pour le grant bien de lui (II 4741 ; so I 610 = des bones proëesces) His worship and his great bounte. = la tresgrant proësce (I 3225) [Cp. Wynt., W, VI 1565 For his hie worschip and bountie]

The Battle Begins.

Sic a frusching of speris wair That fer avay men mycht it her (XII 504)	Sic strakes they gaue that men micht here Full far away the noyes and bere, The speiris all to-frushit thare. = Si donnent si grans cos que d'une arbalestrée En oyssiés l'escrois, le son et la huée (III 6236)
Thai dang on othir with vapnys ser (XII 511)	Dang on vthir with wapnis seir (IV 10299)
That mony worthy man and wicht, Throw fors, wes fellit in that ficht, That had no mycht to ryss agane (XII 523)	Mony helm hewin and mony knicht Throw fors was fellit in the fecht = Des mors et des navrés fu jonchiez li erbois (II 4396)
And mony gud man fellit vndir feit That had no power to riss ȝeit (XII 554)	And mony knychtis fell vnderfeit, That had na power to ryse ȝit = La ot trenchié maint hiaume ains qu'il peüst monter (I 1765)
Quhill throu the byrneiss brist the blud, That till the erd doune stremand ȝud (XII 559)	. . . bathit all in blude, That stremand fra his woundis ȝude [Not in F.] (I 2101) [Cp. 'Troy-Bk.' II 823 : hys bloode That streymande out hys body yhoode]
In-myd the visage met thame thar (XII 576, &c.)	Iu middes the visage met thame thare [Not in F.] (IV 10147, &c.)
Thar men mycht se ane stalwart stour (XII 577)	Thair men micht sie ane staluart stour = MSS. : La poissez ueer un estor si plener. (I 1053)

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Br.	B. A.
That thai suld do thair devour wele (XII 587)	And sicker to do his devore weill =Hardis et viguereus pour faire son devoir (III 7373)
For with wapnys stalwart of steill Thai dang on thame with all thar mycht (XIII 14)	Bot with wapons staluart of steill, Thay dang on vther with all thair micht =Entreferir se vont . . . Molt se painent li .i. des autres damagier (I 2531)
Thar mycht men her richt mony dynt And vapnys apon armour stynt (XIII 28; so XIII 153)	that herd the dintis Of wapnis that on helmis styntis =la frapaille De haches et d'espées dont li bruns acier taille (IV 8728)
Defoulit roydly vnder feit (XIII 31)	Wndir feit defoulit in the battale (IV 8725) and knichtis thare Vnder hors feit defoulit ware (IV 9871)
Men herd nocht ellis bot granys and dyntis That slew fire as men dois on flyntis (XIII 35)	And hard the dinging of thare dyntis That kest fyre as man dois flyntis =Qui oient les grans cops et le martelement (II 4635)
. . . I wndirta, Thai left eftir thame taknyng That sall neid, as I trow, lechyng. (XIII 44)	. . . I tak on hand Thay haue of him sic ane menȝeing, Thai sall neid, I wis, of leching. =Car puis n'aura loisir de requerre pardon (I 1311)
Quhen that he saw the battalis swa Assemmyll and to-gidder ga (XIII 63)	Quhan he the rinkis saw shudder swa And the battellis togiddir ga. =Quant vit les osts fremir et l'estor conmencier (I 1426)
And agane armyt men to ficht May nakit men haff litill mycht (XIII 97)	Under thair scheildis thay war naked . . . Thay sall nouther hardement have nor micht Aganis armit men to ficht =gent trop mal vestue Par desouz les escus est desarmée et nue . . . Mais entre gent armée ert maintenant vaincue (IV 8616)
And cryit ensenȝeis on euerilk syd, Gifand and takand woundis wyd (XIII 159)	And blude brist out of woundis [*printed* winds] wyde. Thay cryit thair ensenȝeis on ilk syde =Ensengnes . . . hautement crier (IV 10222) Geuand and takand woundis wyde [Not in F.] (II 4172)
And, magre thairis, left the plass (XIII 170)	That maugre thairis thai left the place =les a fait retorner (I 1124)

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Br.	B. A.
The Pursuit.	
That thai scalit in tropellis ser, And till discumfitur war ner (XIII 275)	The folk of Ind affrayit ar And scalit in tropellis heir and thair = Et en plusieurs tourbiaus ça et la departie (II 4338)
That he and horss war chargit swa That bath doune to the erd can ga (XIII 317)	Chargit with strakis, = cargié del cop (I 975) His hors sa chargit was with the straik, = li cevaus s'ajenelle (I 2089)
. . . that schir Eduard . . . Lufit and held in sic dante (XIII 475)	Lufe him and hald him [in] dante = Cestui amerés vous ? (II 2111) [Cp. Wynt. (W II 325): That held him into gret daynte] S.L.S. XXVII (*Machor*), 1405. The quhilk all his lyftyme held he As a Relik in gret daynte]
Than till a kirk he [the Bruce] gert hym [Gilbert de Clare] be Brocht, and walkit all that nycht (XIII 511) [Cp. XIII 662: And the gret lordis that he fand Ded in the felde, he gert berye In haly placis honorabilly. And the laif syne that ded war thar In-to gret pittes erdit war.]	Than to the tempill gart thay bring His corpis, and auld Clarus the King, Caleos . . . and vthir syne, That slane into the battell ware, That nicht thay gart walk thame thare; The laif in pittis eardit thay = Font en terre enfouir (IV 10683) Forsuith great lordis that we fand deid, We gart thame bring to ane steid, Tempill Diane, for to wake (IV 10713) [Cp. *walkit*, pa. pple. IV 10796]
And syne lap on and furth thai fair (XIII 600)	Lap on thare hors and furth thay fare = Sont es chevaux sailli (II 4077)
Sir Edward Bruce in Ireland.	
And sesit in sic fusioune thar pray, That all the folk of thar host war Refreschit weill ane owk or mair. (XIV 130)	The furriouris the pray hes tane. Micht thay thairwith thair gait haue gane, The Oist micht weill refreshit bene = Et acueillent de proie une si grant partie Dont l'ost peüst bien estre par lonc tens replenie (I 92)
Bot thai are nocht, withouten wer, Half-deill ane dyner till vs here (XIV 188)	And thay are ane lytill dynare To our great hoste that we haue here = Car il sont poi de gent pour sa gent desjunner (III 6962) With sa quhene that may nocht be Ane denner to my great menze (III 7847)

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Br.	B. A.
Ane felloune fechting wes than [*v. r.* thar] thair (XIV 294; XVII 460)	Thair was ane felloun fechting thair [Not in F.] (I 2447)
thair cummyng and thair ganging (E XIV 400)	Hir fare cuming and hir ganging [Not in F.] (II 2421)
And of the sicht had gret ferly, That sa quheyn durst on ony wiss Wndertak sa hye empriss. (XIV 504)	Than ferleid all that euer thare was, How ony man on ony wyse Durst vndertak sa hie ane pryse =Yndïens se conmencent forment a mervellier Conment nus hons osa si grant fais enchargier (III 6149)
With a sper that richt scharply schair (XV 82)	For with the spere that sharply share =Rade lance en son poing dont li fers n'ert ploiés (I 2905)
Thai war [to] few all out, perfay, With sic a gret rout for to ficht, Bot nocht for thi . . . (XV 146)	Bot thay war all to few to ficht Agane sa fele, bot nocht-for-thy . . . [Not in F.] (I 1702)

DOUGLAS SLAYS SIR EUMOND DE CALION AND SIR ROBERT NEVILLE.

And till his menȝhe can he say (XV 471)	Than to his menȝe can he say =Puis a dit a ses homes (I 198)
Thair fayis tak on thame the flicht (XV 501)	Thare fais the flicht vpone thame tais Not in F.] (IV 9363)
Of him no mair now spek will we (XV 546)	Bot thairof na mare speik will we Mais n'en dirai or plus (III 6807)

THE WAR IN IRELAND.

He maid thame mekill fest and far (XVI 46)	Thay maid thame mekill feste and fare =Grant joie et grant deduit ont ensamble mené (IV 10881)
This wes in the moneth of May (XVI 63)	This was in middes the moneth of May =Ce fu el moys de may (III 5015)
And feldis florist ar with flowris, Weill savourit, of seir colowris (XVI 69)	That strouit war with sindry floures Wele savorand of sere colouris [Not in F.] (II 2171)
To schir Colyne sic dusche he gave, That he dynnyt on his arsoune (XVI 130)	Quhill on his arsoune dintit he =si l'en ont enbrunchié sor l'archon daärrain (I 3130)
And rudely rushed thame abak [H only] (XVI 197)	Had rushit and put abak halely [Not in F.] (I 1663)

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Br.	B. A.
Prowess of Bishop Sinclair of Dunkeld.	
. . . the king aucht weill to ma Of 3ow (XVI 592)	the King Dois na foly of the to ma =Et li roys n'est pas fox qui vous tient en cherté (III 5679)
Now dois weill, for men sall se Quha lufis the kyngis mensk to-day ! (XVI 620)	And with grete strenth and hardement Manteme the kingis mense that day =et l'ounor Alixandre . . . alever (I 547)
Bruce Captures Berwick: Edward II. Besieges it.	
On this viss thame contenit thai, Quhill it wes neir noyne of the day (XVII 129, and 659)	It was neirhand none of the day = Ert pres heure de nonne (IV 10057)
Till hald castell or toune of wer (XVII 216)	Castell, citie na land of weir [Not in F.] (I 3268)
Castell of wer or than cite (XVII 243)	
He . . . To the toune ane assege set (XVII 270)	Vnto thair cittie ane assege hes set [Not in F.] (II 201)
And gert the schippes by the se Bring shot and othir apparale With gret varnysing [E warnysone : H Garnisoun] of vittale To Berwik with all this men3e (XVII 292)	Ane stalwart Castel gart he mak, & garnison & vittel tak, & hes gud fuson thidder sēd & staluart men it to defend. Thairwith he thocht to stop the way That nouther ship nor 3it Gallay Sould be sey cum to the toun With vittell nor with garnisoun . . .
The schippis com in sic plente, Vith vittale, armyng and vith men, That all the havyn wes stoppit then (XVII 304)	The King gart oft his men assaill With bissines and grit trauell To tak the nobill toun of Tyre ; Bot Balas, that thairof was Syre, Defendit it sa manfully . . .
And quhar men pressit mast, he maid Succoure till his that myster had (XVII 387)	Throw helping of his cheualry, That oft the Kingis men3e ware Rebutit, beft and woundit sair.
Than mycht men se on seir maner Sum men defend, and sum assale Full besaly with gret trawale (XVII 412)	The King thair grit defence hes sene . . . =De la porte vers terre lor volt le port veër Qu'en la cité ne puissent venir ne retorner, Ne barges ne galies n'i puissent ariver. Li rois i commanda de sa gent a entrer, Armes et garison i fait assés porter, Souent de jor a autre lor fait assaut doner ; Et cil se desfendirent a trere et a geter (I 1-21)
And thai within with mekill mycht Defendit manfully thar stede (XVII 708)	

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Br.	B. A.
At Mary-ȝet to-hewyn had The barras (XVII 755)	At the ȝet quhare the barreris hewin is = Droit a ycele porte dont la barre est trenchie (II 2845)
For the richt gret defens he maid At the ȝet, quhar, &c. (XVII 921)	

How Sir Edward Bruce was Slain in Ireland.

That thar kyng, with sa quheyn, vald ficht Agane folk of sa mekill mycht (XVIII 61)	And saw few with him, for to fecht Aganis men sa mekill of micht = Pau a gent a combatre (I 237)

The Bruce Pursues the English into England.

That thai that fle mycht, fled avay (XVIII 468)	And they that micht fle, fled away = Cil qu'en pot eschaper (I 1658) = Des leurs fuirent cil qui porent eschaper (II 10560)
Quhar velcum heir all tym ȝe be (XVIII 536)	Quhare weilcum heir mot euer ȝe be [Not in F.] (III 6816)
Till Scotland tuk thai hame thar way Blith and glad, ioyfull and gay (H Blith and ioyfull of their Pray) (XVIII 562)	Before thame brocht thay hame the pray Ioyfull and glaid, Ioly and gay = Les vaches en ramainnent, lié et joiant et baut (II 4569)

Edward III. Invades Scotland.

For scho tald haly to the king Thair purposs and thair ordanyng (XIX 25)	. . . now haue I tald, Of thare counsell and of thare ordaning = or vous ai ge conté Des .iiij. filz Clarvus tout le consel privé (II 3066)
. . . the king, That he held of all his halding (XIX 66)	. . . the king, That we hald of all our halding, = le roi de qui nos fiés tenon (I 589)
The king, was ded and laid in stane (H Lame) (XIX 257)	For quhen ȝe lawe ar laid in lame (IV Col. 27)

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Br.	B. A.
And swa gret rowtis till him raucht That, had nocht beyn his mekill maucht . . . (XIX 587)	(See opposite 'Br.' II 420.)
And thai, that worthy war and wicht (XIX 786)	And thay that wourthy ar and wicht [Not in F.] (I 282)

Coronation of David II.

Thus maid wes pess quhar wer wes air (XX 63)	Thus mak thay peax quhair weir was air =Ainssi fu l'acordance et la guerre apaisie (IV 10754)

The Bruce's Heart.

And thair nevis oft sammyn driff (XX 257)	His neiffis for dule togidder he drang =Ses. ij. poins fiert ensemble (IV 9599)
That na thing mycht amendit be (XX 316)	Quhair nathing may be to amend (II 1978)
And to the lord Dowglass gaf he The waward, for to leid and steir (XX 400)	(See opposite 'Br.' XI 306.)
Quhen he to thame of his ledyng Had maid ane fair amonestyng Till do weill and na dede to dreid ; For hewynnis blis suld be thair meid (XX 411)	Quhen he that had thame in leding Had maid thame fair admonising That at the ending thay suld weill do. =Et il li ont trestuit bonement otroié Que, por perdre les vies, ne feront mauvestié (I 3083)
Thar mycht men felloune fechting se (XX 418)	Thare men micht felloun fechting se (IV 10219)
He had nocht with him atour ten Of all men that war with him thar (XX 434)	Quhill he, with him of alkin men, Micht be ay ane aganes ten =Ja tant con il eüst o soi de remanant Un honme contre .X. (IV 9966)

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§ 20. Uncertain Testimony of the Similarities.

The conclusions reasonably to be drawn from the above list appear to be these :—

1. While this or that single line may be contested, the similarities in the mass cannot be fortuitous. The long arm of coincidence is not long enough to reach them all. When consecutive lines occur, there can be no doubt whatever of some collusion between the writers of both texts. All due allowance being made for the length of the 'Bruce' (13,550 lines) and the 'Buik' (14,000), the large number of the similarities shows that that collusion was considerable.

2. The lines and phrases in question deal more with decorative detail than with essential subject-matter. If they were all expunged from the 'Bruce,' the story would lose in picturesqueness, but in substance remain unchanged. In the 'Bruce' they are additional, parenthetical, in their character. But they are not "interpolations"—in the sense of long irrelevant passages, copied stupidly or inserted awkwardly, showing some disparity in style, vocabulary and the like, nor are they confined to any definite portions of the 'Bruce,' though particularly frequent at the beginning ('Books'[1] II., III., and V.), in the story of Bannockburn ('Books' XI.-XIII.), and towards the end ('Book' XX.)

3. In the 'Buik' many of them are accounted for by the French originals. But almost as many are not, and these are far more numerous than Dr Neilson, from his necessarily hurried consultation of a few French MSS., could suppose. They are, in a sense, interpolated in the

[1] A modern division, due to Pinkerton (1790).

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'Buik.' But their origin is not clear. Some are no doubt common ME. phrases, which might occur to any translator in distress, as they did occur to the translator of 'Guy of Warwick'—and to the author of the 'Bruce.' Of the others it would be difficult to say whether they were imported from the 'Buik' into the 'Bruce,' or from the 'Bruce' into the 'Buik.' To specify only one case among many, the unnecessary couplet B. A. I 2777 is not in the French, but it is in the 'Bruce' (III. 48), where the next few lines refer to Gaudifer. The couplet may therefore be an "interpolation" in the 'Buik,' or in the 'Bruce'—or in both!

4. Thus, after sifting the material and confronting it with the text of the French originals, we are left with this curious situation that these similarities, numerous as they are, admit of two interpretations, of which one commended itself to Dr Neilson, the other to Dr Brown. The passages *are* in some sense "interpolations," but in what sense? And who interpolated them, when, and why? Our own impression is that the text of the 'Bruce' and the text of the 'Buik' are so inextricably mingled as to warrant no other conclusion than that of common authorship. But it is difficult to point to any given instance as conclusive proof. To arrive at any decision it is necessary to examine each example on its own merits, and then the decision is arbitrary, affording little hope of escape from a vicious circle of assertion, denial, and counter-denial. The argument from parallels proved, in Dr Neilson's hands, a broken reed. For a general guiding principle we must turn elsewhere, to survey a broader scene.

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CHAPTER VI.: EARLY SCOTTISH LITERATURE AS EVIDENCE IN THE CASE.

THOUGH we have over our predecessors the double advantage of enjoying the fruits of their labours and possessing the complete text of the French originals, we yet have a less sanguine belief in the possibility of solving by the study of parallel passages a problem which the absence of essential factors may make insoluble, and a sadder sense of the paucity and insecurity of the other material available for its solution. That meagre and shifty material compels us to discuss in many pages a question to which it might seem at first that the ordinary canons of literary and linguistic criticism would provide a quick and decisive answer.

§ 21. THE PAUCITY OF MATERIAL FOR COMPARISON.

The inadequacy of the available texts must be painfully evident to scholars accustomed to work in other fields. Except for the stanza in Wyntoun,[1] there is no

3621 "Qwhen Alexander our kynge was dede,
Sen] W. [1] *was*] E^4 *om.*
3622 That Scotlande lede in lauche and le,
lede] W left. *lauche*] RW luf. L That led our land in law and leid.
3623 Away was sons of alle and brede,
sons of] Au E^2 seyne than. *alle*] L wyne.
3624 Off wyne and wax, of gamyn and gle.
and (1) A of; L *om.* *of* (2) E^1 L *om.*
Au E^2 Wyne and wax, gamyne and gle.
3625 Our golde was changit in to lede.
was changit] L turnit wes.
W The gold wes changeit all in leid.

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extant Scottish literature older than the 'Bruce,' "compiled" in 1375.[2] That is, comparatively, a very late date, one with which, in French literature,[3] the mediævalist's dealings are few and, as it were, apologetic, and which, in English literature, would make Barbour sixth or

3626 Crist, borne in virgynyte,
in] Au E² R in to
W The frute faȝeit on euerilk tre
3627 Succoure Scotlande, and ramede,
AU E² Succour ay Scotland
W Ihesu, succour and send remeid
3628 That is stade in perplexite."
A prolexite.
AU E2 That it stand in
EW That stad is in
L That staid is in greit
R That stad in his

Quoted by Wyntoun at the end of Book VII. (lines 3621-8) and prefaced by him with the line, "This sange was made of hym for thi." Wyntoun does not say or imply—nor can we find any evidence for the view—that these lines were composed "shortly after" the death of Alexander III. (1286), as is so commonly assumed—*e.g.*, Irving, 'Hist. Sc. P.,' p. 79; Wells, *op. cit.*, p. 209. To us their tone indicates a "laudator temporis acti," and surely the economic consequences of that national disaster, which, however poetically they are expressed, form none the less the subject-matter of the poem, were not so immediately felt, even if we allow for instant uprising of turbulent spirits hitherto held in check by a strong King. The arrangement of the lines and the use of the learned "remede" and "perplexity," unrecorded elsewhere till Barbour's 'Bruce' by OED., suggest neither popular origin nor such high antiquity. With the first line cp. those quoted in List I. of § 26 *infra*, and with the last:

B. A. I 940: Be stad in grit perplexite;
Br. XI 619: Thai war in gret perplexite;
XII 530: Set in-till herd proplexite;
Wynt., W, IV 2101: The stait of Rome begouth to be
Stad in hard perplexite.

[2] Even in prose. The vernacular translations of the early Scottish Laws are later transcripts, of which the oldest does not go further back than 1398. The next earliest specimen of Scottish prose is the 15th century "Craft of Deyng." J. A. H. Murray, 'The Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland,' London, 1873, vii + 251 pp., p. 30. In the 'Aberdeen Register' (Spalding Club, 1844) the early records are in Latin, Scots being used from 1441, though occasionally earlier—*e.g.*, 1399, i., p. 377. The Catalogue of "registers and baillie court buikis of Abirdene . . . be Mr Th. Mollisoune, clerk of Abirdene, primo septembris, 1591," mentions "four auld imperfyt . . . buikis," and says that there were none before 1380.

[3] The long chronological list of Old French writings in Gaston Paris' manual begins at 842 and is with difficulty stretched to 1358.

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seventh [4] in a chronological list comprising literary historians only. Finding ample material for comparison, analogous texts of the same "genre" or region or date, the investigator in French literature may with some sense of security appraise the relative merit of a disputed text, determine its sources, detect interpolations, assign authorship and date. Earlier or contemporary works are landmarks on the ways of truth.

But Scottish vernacular literature before Barbour is as the void before the creation, nether darkness against which the scholar's lamp, fed only with the oil of recorded fact, cannot prevail. Yet when at last Barbour comes into our ken, he has not the manner of a pioneer. He stands in the line of M.E. tradition, and his diction differs little from that of his predecessors in general M.E. The easy flow of his copious verse betokens no inventor of harmonies fashioning a new medium. He is never at a loss for a rime. His epic formulæ, his alliterative, too convenient, phrases, have a familiar air, as of well-worn clichés. As they will do service long after his day, so had they a literary past behind them; before Barbour was, they are. He may not have "that central view of life which received expression in Dante and Petrarch and Chaucer," [5] but he is not unsophisticated or uncouth, and he most assuredly was not among the first to blacken parchment with Scottish verse. He himself tells us that he will not relate a certain incident because it can be

[4] Coming after the O.E. Chronicle, Layamon, Robert of Gloucester, the Short Metrical Chronicle, Thomas Bek of Castelford, R. Mannyng of Brunne.

[5] P. Hume Brown, 'Hist. Scotl.' (Cambridge Univ. Press), 1909, Vol. i., p. 183.

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heard any day in a ballad,[6] and there is historical evidence to prove, if proof be necessary, that neither ballad-singing[7] nor chronicle-writing[8] in the vernacular were new things in Barbour's Scotland. The organisation of society and church in the Middle Age, the history of other literatures, the presence of Scottish "matter" in early French Romance, the impression that Barbour himself gives —all suggest that long before 1375, however rudimentary the sense of nationality may have been, Scotland produced vernacular translations from Latin and French, and other versified elucubrations in the vulgar tongue. The great abbeys had, of course, historiographers in Scotland as elsewhere, and we may be sure that vernacular chronicles existed.

Where are these works to-day? An answer, not perhaps sufficient in itself, but explaining much, may be found in circumstances common no doubt to other countries, but less persistent and less disastrous—in the tragic *leit-motif* running through all the 'Histories of Scotland': "Baffled in his purpose, he took a terrible revenge. Every town, village, and hamlet he burnt to the ground. . . ."

[6] How Sir John de Soulis vanquished Andrew Harcla:

"I will nocht reherse all the maner;
For quha sa likis, thai may heir
3oung women, quhen thai will play,
Syng it emang thame ilke day." 'Br.' XVI 519.

[7] A household book of Edward I., 1304, shows that he was welcomed by minstrels and harpers at various places in Fife, and that he duly rewarded seven women who met him near Gask on the Earn and sang before him, "as had been the custom in the time of Alexander III." Bain, 'Edw. in Scotland,' p. 17, and Cal. IV., p. 475.

[8] In 1355 Sir Thomas Gray of Heton, then a prisoner in Edinburgh Castle, began to "translate" from verse to prose rimed chronicles in "Englés"—*i.e.*, the language which Barbour calls "Inglis": "Ey sy ne voet pas au plain nomer soun noune, qe cest cronicle translata de ryme en prose . . . surveist il liuers de cronicles enrymaiez et en prose, en Latin, en Fraunceis, et en Englés des gestez dez auncestres." 'Scalacronica' (Maitland Club, 1836), pp. 1-2. Wyntoun tells us, VIII (C) 2300, that in his day (*c.* 1420) there existed "gret gestis" about Wallace.

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. . . "He gave the town and cathedral of Elgin to the flames."[9] It little matters who "he" was, still less his floruit, nationality, politics, or religion. What records,[10] documents, histories, chronicles escaped the First Edward may not have escaped the Third, or Henry VIII., or Cromwell, or the Wolf of Badenoch, or later local "Wolves" and warring sects. The works of Barbour's predecessors must needs have perished with the only receptacles in which they could have been stored—the churches, the religious houses, the castles of the nobility, the town houses of the wealthy burgesses. When Edward III. in 1336 rode to the help of a beleaguered countess at Lochindorb, he stopped not for brake and stayed not for stone, but on the return journey he found time for a week-end at Aberdeen, burning the Old town and the New, and the country for miles around, "without the omission of a single house, though in all Scotland there were none more handsome."[11] Few of the events which Barbour's colleagues in the Cathedral Chapter thought interesting enough to set down in their little chronicle of important anniversaries were of a nature to help in the preservation of early literature.[12]

[9] Hume Brown, ibid., p. 177, but another page, or another historian, would serve as well.

[10] The allegation that Edward I. purposely burned (or carried off with the Stone of Destiny) all the national records extant at the death of Alexander III. is unfounded. For the lack of early Scottish records Joseph Bain, the chief authority on these matters, blames chiefly Henry VIII., pre- and post-Reformation Scottish fanatics, who mistook documents for "Popish" service-books, and Cromwell, who removed the records of the Scottish Parliaments and Courts of Justice to the Tower of London in 1651. They were returned, but only partially, 85 of the hogsheads in which they had been stored being lost at sea. See Joseph Bain, 'The Edwards in Scotland, 1266-1377,' Edinburgh (D. Douglas), 1901, x + 105 pp., pp. 5-12.

[11] 'Nova de Scotia apud Ferrerii historia de Kynlos,' quoted in Reg. Episc. Aberd., I., xxix., *n.*

[12] "1378 combusta est ecclesia sancti Andree in Scocia
1379 ,, ,, ,, de Abirbrothick
1390 ,, ,, ,, de Elgin
1395 destructa fuit pro majore parte tota patria inter Dee et Spe propter discordiam inter Jacobum de Lyndesay et Robertum de Kethe."

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Some, but only some, of Barbour's known works remain. The rest have gone the way of the venerable Register of St Andrews, "last seen in the hands of the minister of Holyrood in 1660," [13] or of the old "tome almost inlegeable in manie places, vanting leaves, yet hade it the beginning, and hade bein sett doune by a monk in the abey of Melros, called Peter Fenton, in the year of God one thousand thrie hundreth sixtie nyne . . . it was in old ryme like to Chaucer, but vanting in manie parts,—and in special from the field of Bannochburne fourth . . . so that it could not be gotten to the press, yet such as I could reid thereof hade many remarkable taillis worthie to be noted." [14] The 'Legends of the Saints' and Blind Harry's 'Wallace' [15] exist in only one copy. The works of Huchown, which Wyntoun mentions, are lost. Of the numerous "Makars" lamented by Dunbar little subsists but the names. Barbour *has* no predecessors; we cannot say he *had* none, or treat him as an isolated figure, first of his kind, an originator subject only to rules of his own making, and assume that phrases which seem to us characteristic of Barbour are *peculiar* to him. They may, for all we can show to the contrary, sometimes be commonplaces which could be paralleled in a whole literature, had fate dealt with it less unkindly.

This pathetic litany is culled from the entries in a fourteenth century Sarum Breviary, described, No. 27, by Miss Borland, *op. cit.* Many of the obits are connected with Aberdeen; the dates of the feast of St Machar, 12th November (Duplex Festum), and the dedication of the Cathedral, 3rd November, are added. The list was apparently kept by the Canons of Aberdeen when Barbour was Archdeacon.

[13] Amours, ed. Wyntoun, i., p. lxxix.

[14] Patrick Gordon, Preface to his poem "The Bruce," Dort (G. Waters), 1615, 4to. Gordon would have done greater service to literature if instead of writing his feeble poem he had transcribed Fenton's work.

[15] MS. of 1488, in the National Library of Scotland, bound with the 1489 MS. of the 'Bruce' (E) and written by the same hand, that of John Ramsay.

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§ 22. The Suspect Character of the Available Texts.

The few works of the period 1375-1450 with which the 'Buik of Alexander' may usefully be compared have come down to us in copies made long after their authors' death, exposed in the interval to the chemistry of time and the attentions of "improvers," and, in our day, to the objections of the sceptical.

That the 'Bruce' was "compiled" in 1375[1] by John Barbour, Archdeacon of Aberdeen, is proved by internal and external evidence, records and charters, and is disputed by no one. But when he began and finished it, or whether copies were handed about before 1375, is matter of conjecture. The texts preserved, apart from an excerpt of 280 lines copied by Wyntoun into his 'Chronicle,' c. 1420, are very much younger—viz., two MSS.—one (C: Cambridge) of 1487, written by "J. de R."; the other (E: Edinburgh) of 1489, written by John Ramsay, who was probably not[2] the same person as "J. de R." —and printed editions of 1571, 1616 (H. = Hart's), &c. C being incomplete at the beginning, Skeat follows E, mainly, as far as IV. 56, with corrections from H, thereafter C, with corrections from E and H. The variants both in the MSS. and in the printed copies are relatively few and slight,[3] but *a priori*, it is not impossible that the

[1] To be quite precise, between 22nd February and 24th March 1375-6: "Barbour's note (Br. XIII 694) is distinct in assigning a time after 22nd February 1375-6, when five years of Robert II.'s reign had passed, and before 24th March 1375-6, when the year 1375 as then counted came to a close." Neilson, J. B., p. 1.

[2] See the very full study, pp. 1-21, in F. W. Muehleisen's 'Textkritische . . . Untersuchungen von Barbour's Bruce,' Diss. Bonn, 1913.

[3] Although much ink has been shed on this topic, the existing versions

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'Bruce' of 1375 was afterwards emended by the author, who before he died had twenty years to alter, add to, or take from, his original work, or was "edited" by other hands, once or several times, in the period prior to 1487.

Of Wyntoun's 'Original' there is no "authentic text." The MSS. are all much later than the date of composition. Several of them represent independent versions by the author himself, and none has yet been shown, or perhaps ever can be shown, to be the "definitive edition." The 'Ballad of the Nine Nobles' exists only in two sixteenth-century MSS. Our own text, the 'Buik' [1580], is one which, in ordinary cases where several MSS. exist, an editor might dismiss as "a late sixteenth-century print" with such scant courtesy as Skeat accorded Hart's edition of the 'Bruce' [1616].

§ 23. Similarities in Subject-matter: their Value as Evidence.

Those who have hitherto approached the problem of the 'Buik' have placed in "parallels" a confidence we cannot share. Their work is indeed overburdened with similarities (some very far-fetched), which are mere commonplaces. They assume that an idea, or the expression of an idea, occurring in two authors is a sign of unconscious assimilation or conscious plagiarism. This is no doubt often so in modern times, although, as Sainte-Beuve found it necessary to remind us, it is still possible for two authors, quite independently of each

of the 'Bruce' are in quite unusual harmony, as will be seen from Muehleisen's study—*e.g.*, p. 118,—and indeed from a cursory glance at Skeat's slender apparatus criticus.

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other, to exclaim, "J'aime bien Marie!" Many of the ideas expressed in the disputed texts are of this elemental simplicity. In an age when individual feelings merged in the general mass and all authors wrote on the same subjects in the same strain, the stock of ideas was limited, and Barbour, or Wyntoun, or their French predecessors and contemporaries, must in the nature of things show a marked similarity in their themes and in their reflections: the mutability of human affairs, the pleasantness of spring as compared with winter's bitter blast, the sudden reversal of Fortune's wheel in the well-known "example" of Alexander or Julius Cæsar, the advantages of "lawte" over "tresoun," of wisdom over folly, and like topics dear to the mediæval moralist. As with ideas, so with facts. Men acted in History as they acted in Romance. The art of war still reduced itself to what Anatole France contemptuously termed "quelques ruses de paysans," and these might occur to separate commanders without collusion.[1] It is only in the heat of controversy that "parallels" of such calibre can seem to carry conviction.

In the conditions prevailing in the Scottish fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the filiation of texts must often be dubious. On this subject Andrew of Wyntoun, a dull man but an honest, is a good witness. He borrowed, with all due acknowledgment, 280 lines from the 'Bruce,' and no fewer than 6000 lines[2] (*i.e.*, nearly one-third of his 'Chronicle') from an author who apparently wrote *c.* 1390, and of whose name and qualifications he was quite unaware. Wyntoun tells us most frankly where

[1] The fact that Oudenarde was captured in 1384 by the same stratagem (soldiers disguised as carters, and a hay-cart to block the gateway) as Linlithgow by Farmer Bunnock ('Br.' X 150-255) does not prove that Barbour's tale is untrue—still less does it prove that a later redactor of the 'Bruce' borrowed the story from Froissart.

[2] VIII 2695-IX 1120.

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he himself stops and the other begins, which we might not otherwise have known; and he would have given his contributor's name if he could. But all that Wyntoun could say of nearly one-third of the 'Chronicle' which bears his name is that whoever wrote it, he did not.[3]

Works, important at least in bulk, were often unknown outside a limited circle. When Sir Gilbert Haye sat down in 1460 to the formidable task of translating the vast 'Roman d'Alixandre,' neither he nor the entourage of his host, the Earl of Caithness, was aware that another 'Buik of Alexander' existed in Scotland (see § 14, *n.* 2). On the other hand, a work may have been read, but not alluded to, by later writers. Even so frank a soul as Wyntoun has strange silences. While the section contributed by his mysterious collaborator contains several passages taken direct from Fordun, whose 'Chronica' and 'Annales' were completed *c.* 1385, Wyntoun never cites Fordun, possibly because of un-

[3] "And for he walde vsurpe na fayme
Langer, na walde ber na blayme,
Than he deserwit, this poyntment
Her he made . . .
Til his purposse accordande
Befor hym he reddy fande,
That in the Kynge Dawiys days war done
The Broyis, and Robertis his [sistyr] son.
Qwha that did [*v. r.*, Quhat thai], *he wist richt noucht;*
Bot that til hym on casse was wroucht" [*v. r.*, browcht].
(VIII, C, 2945-60)

[*I.e.*, 'who wrote it he did not know at all'; cp. W, VI 1321—
"Bot of this deid *wist he rycht nocht*];

Qwha that it dytyd . . . schawyt hym off mare cunnandness
Than me." (IX, R, 1161.)

The readings of the various MSS. (see facsimiles, &c., in S.T.S. ed.) do not help us very much. It is impossible that Wyntoun would have us believe that he was unfamiliar with the events of the reigns of David II. and Robert II., since he was a contemporary and has already related some of them himself; nor can we find any justification for Mr Amours' view that Wyntoun withheld the name of his collaborator because of the latter's modesty. Wyntoun's two allusions to the subject seem to have their face value.

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palatable views on the origin of the Scots, and yet had apparently read his work.[4] Walter Bower (1385-1449), who continued (1418-49) Fordun's 'Chronicle,' on occasion translates Barbour[5] and Wyntoun into Latin. "Blind Harry"—he was not blind, neither was his name Harry[6]—was familiar with the 'Bruce,' and it would be hard to say when unblushing robbery, and when coincidence, accounts for the similarities between the 'Wallace' and the 'Bruce.'[7] The 'Book of Pluscarden' (c. 1461), Hector Boece, and his versifier William Stewart,

[4] See Amours, ed. Wyntoun, I., p. xxxix, and *infra*, § 28, *s. fin.* (on the incident of the Earl of Gloucester's spurs).

[5] Cp. the beginning of his account of Bannockburn, 1759 ed., p. 247.

[6] If we believe Professor W. H. Schofield, 'Mythical Bards and the Life of William Wallace,' Harvard Univ. Press, 1920, pp. xii + 381. In any case, the free use of French and the very conscious art of his metrical effects show that the author of the 'Wallace' was not the untutored minstrel or gleeman he is generally imagined to have been.

[7] For the many similarities see Herrmann, *op. cit.*, p. 15; Brown, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-33 and 158, &c.; Neilson, *op. cit.*, pp. 98-100; Mackenzie, ed. 'Br.,' *n.* to VIII. 177. Phrases like "Upone the morn quhen that the day was lycht" ('Wall.,' III. 423, IV. 326, IX. 60, 65), "The sone was rysyne our landis schinand brycht" ('Wall.,' III. 100), look like verbal imitations. The portrait of Douglas ('Br.' I 385-96), and the remark that his face was unscarred ('Br.' XX 370), occur in very similar form, applied to Wallace—

> "His face he kepyt, for it was euir bar,
> With his twa handis, the quhilk full worthi war" (III 91).
>
> "Woundis he had in mony divers place,
> Bot fair and weill kepyt was his face.
> Off ryches he kepyt no propyr thing:
> Gaiff as he wan, lik Alexander the king.
> In tym off pes mek as a maid was he;
> Quhar wer approchyt, the rycht Ector was he." (IX 1933).

It is curious that this reference to Alexander is not implicit in the passage of the 'Bruce' which "Blind Harry" had in mind (XV. 515-25).

The story of Gadifer ('Br.' III 73-76) is alluded to thus—

> "Sic a flear befor was neuir seyn;
> Nocht at Gadderis, off Gawdyfer the keyn,
> Quhen Alexander reskewed the foryouris,
> Mycht till him be comperd in tha houris." (X 341).
>
> "Throuch cowatice" . . . died . . ." gud Ector . . . Alexander
> And Julius als . . . Arthour" . . .
> [Charlemagne by] "the traytour Ganȝelon . . . Godfra"
> (XI 837-48).

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are all visibly inspired by Barbour.[8] When such conditions prevail, it is tempting Providence to draw many inferences from similarities of subject-matter in the 'Bruce' and the 'Buik.'

§ 24. Similarity of Expression: its Value as Evidence.

Nor are we on safer ground with language and style. If originality was rare in subject-matter, it was rarer in form. Men wrote not in separate words but in set phrases, whole lines or whole couplets, handed down intact from father to son. They were loth to make up a phrase when a ready-made one was available either in the works of a particular predecessor or in the common inheritance of stock expressions, ringing in the memory of all. We must be prepared to find disconcerting parallels. The 'Parlement of the Thre Ages' turns out to be an epitome of lines and passages from poems written in the second half of the fourteenth century, and the opening line of 'Titus'—"In Tiberius' time the trewe Emperour"—is *verbatim* the opening line of the 'Gyre-Carling.'[1]

And as a final complication comes the fact that of the few extant works of early Scottish literature several have with varying degrees of probability been ascribed to

[8] 'Liber Pluscardensis' (ed. Skene, Edinburgh, 1877) quotes Barbour (*e.g.*, I., p. 240): "Cujus [Edward Bruce] actus magis clare patent in libro De Gestis Regis Roberti." Boece adds supernatural episodes to the 'Bruce.'

'The Buik of the Chroniclis of Scotland, or a Metrical Version of the History of Hector Boece,' by William Stewart (ed. W. B. Turnbull, Rolls Ser., Vol. III., 1858), does little more, in its account of Bruce's reign, than repeat the 'Bruce,' often verbally, which it quotes (l. 49, 194) as "The Bruces buke Of king Robert."

[1] Neilson, 'H. A. R.' p. 40, *n.*

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Barbour, and that Wyntoun and others, who read and admired him, may well have assimilated much of his diction and style. But when we find familiar phrases of the 'Bruce' recurring in parts of the Chronicle which have nothing to do with King Robert, and again in other parts for which Wyntoun disclaims all responsibility, and moreover in 'Cursor Mundi,'[2] the 'Morte Arthure,'[3] 'Havelok the Dane,'[4] 'Guy of Warwick,'[5] and other M.E. texts innumerable, many of the alleged "parallels" must be dismissed from our inquiry as general M.E., part of the stock-in-trade of any fourteenth-century or early fifteenth-century writer.[6]

CHAPTER VII.: THE 'BUIK' COMPARED WITH TWO AUTHENTIC PORTIONS OF THE 'BRUCE.'

THESE reservations made, we enter on the dark and treacherous domain in pursuit of the will-o'-the-wisp author of our 'Buik,' and amid the bogs of unauthentic texts, disputed dates, dubious authorship and "parallels"

[2] North. Eng., *c.* 1320.
[3] See § 11, *n.* 5.
[4] ?[N.E. Midland? before 1275.
[5] ? South Warwickshire, *c.* 1300. The Auchinleck MS., which we quote, in reference to the Caius MS., is *c.* 1330-40.
[6] A passage like the following ('Guy of Warwick,' Caius MS. 8212) is full of "parallels" to the 'Buik'—

"He smote to Gye with all his myȝt,
And he hym, as a noble knyȝt
Tho they fowghten ryght faste there:
Nother of hem wold other spare.
Thay fowght with so grete Ire:
Oute of ther helmis sprange the fyre.
They breke hawberkis & shyldys:
The pecis flew in-to the fyldys."

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only too easily paralleled, we espy with relief two small patches of apparently firm ground which the mists of controversy had concealed. One of them is the Prologue of the 'Bruce,' composed very evidently by the author, and not by a redactor writing more than forty years after his death. The other is the passage of the 'Bruce' which Wyntoun copied into his Chronicle, *c.* 1420, and which therefore, whatever errors of transcription, intentional alterations, omissions or additions Wyntoun may have made, contains at least no ingredients from a 'Buik of Alexander' dating from 1438. Let us first, then, compare the 'Buik' with these two passages of demonstrably authentic text, beginning with the Prologue as a temporary foothold.

§ 25. Comparison with the Prologue.

The authenticity of the Prologue no one has called in question. It has the ring of sincerity. It states the author's purpose with a sureness of touch, and describes the contents with a simple modesty, to which no "remanieur," however sympathetic, could well attain. In tone and manner it is in complete harmony with the spirit and form of the whole work, throughout which the ideas it expresses,[1] and the very words[2] in which it expresses them, reappear continually. It bears the authentic impress of Barbour its writer, and we need not trouble to invoke the fact that the opening couplet—

> "Storyss to rede are delitabill,
> Suppos that thai be nocht bot fabill"—

[1] *E.g.*, 'Br.' XVI 526-31.

[2] *E.g.*, 'Br.' XVI 234.

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recurs in Wyntoun,[3] in circumstances which leave little doubt that he found it in the 'Bruce,' and borrowed it for insertion in his own Prologue.

The Prologue contains not a word which is not in the 'Buik of Alexander.' The style and tone, the metre and rimes, are the same, and the phraseology is very similar, and, once, almost identical :—

. . . staluart folk that . . .	*of* this *cheualry* I gif 30w all the *prys*
Wan gret price off cheualry,	(B. A. III 3227)
And war woydyt off cowardy,	Baith *hardy* and worthy, I wis,
As wes king Robert off Scotland,	*And voydit of* all *cowardys*[4]
That hardy wes off hart and hand.	= Plains de grant hardement,
(Br. I 25)	widiés de couardis
	(B. A. III 5512)
	And hardy was of hart and hand.
	(B. A. II 2688)

The similarities are striking, and when (as in III. 5513 above) the phrasing of the 'Buik' is determined by the French, they become significant. But as evidence of common authorship their force is sadly weakened by the discovery of others elsewhere than in the 'Buik'—*e.g.*, 'Sc. Leg. Saints,' xl. ('Ninian'), 819 :—

"And hardy vas of hart and hand,"

and Wyntoun (W, I 1542) :—

"Bot it is nocht all suthfast thing,"

which is a closer parallel than the 'Buik' can offer to the last line (36) of the Prologue :—

"That I say nocht bot suthfast thing!"

It is true that of the Legends of the Saints ascribed to Barbour, 'Ninian' is that to which his claim is strongest.[5]

[3] *For storyis to reid* (W heire) *ar dilectable,*
Suppose that sum *be nocht bot fable.* (C W, I, Prol., 30).

[4] The form *cowardy* is frequent in the 'Buik.'

[5] See G. Neilson, 'Scot. Antiq.,' XI, p. 102.

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It is also true that Wyntoun, his avowed admirer, may have caught some of his mannerisms. But in the absence of sufficient contemporary works to show whether such similarities are fortuitous or not, the evidence under this head proves merely that the 'Buik of Alexander' belongs to the same "genre" as the 'Bruce' and to the same school—that which used the four-stressed riming line, with marked alliteration, amply trimmed out with "tags," and not above employing one word for sense and one for rime—and represents the same standard in conception and execution. The evidence suggests common authorship, but does not, taken by itself, prove it.

§ 26. Comparison with Wyntoun's Excerpt.

A comparison of the language of Barbour, as quoted by Wyntoun, with the language of the 'Buik' as printed by Arbuthnet, reveals some discrepancies in the vocabulary, and marked similarities in the phrasing.

Of the words used in the 280 lines quoted by Wyntoun a considerable number are not found at all in the 14,000 lines of the 'Buik.' Some of them could not be reasonably expected there—*e.g.*, "arbitry," "assythe," "baillȝeis," "borch," "collaterale," "composytoure," "desolate" [= "without a King"], "discencion," to "hald in cheyf," "indenture," "luftennendis," "ofspryng," "ordynance," "respyte," "schirrayis," "succeid," "thrillage," &c. These are administrative, legal or semi-legal terms, necessary in discussing the rival claims to the Scottish throne, but not in translating French romances which treat of quite different subjects. But the absence of other words is noteworthy; such are the forms "freyndful,"

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"freyndsome" and "kynrik" (which in the 'Buik' is represented by "kingdom"), the phrase "thay bare on hand" [= "controverted"], and the terms "chasty," "declare," "determine," "eftirwart," "inkirly," "nyt" [= "denied"], "occupy" (mil.), "reserwit," "rebaldaill," "stuffit," "tide" [= "happen"].[1] These are not uncommon words (except "rebaldaill"). Most of them are freely used by Wyntoun in other parts of his 'Original,'[2] and by M.E. writers generally, and might well have suggested themselves as possible translations.

That the turn of phrase, the expressions used, the ring of the lines, their metre and rime, are much alike will be seen from the following lists.[3] The first includes resemblances natural enough in works of the same "genre"; the second contains lines practically identical and suggestive of common authorship.

I. SIMILARITY IN PHRASEOLOGY.

WYNTOUN, VIII ii. (MS. C.)	'BUIK OF ALEXANDER.'
QWHEN Alexander our kinge was dede,	*Vhē Alexāder* in his impire (I 1)
That Scotlande hade to stere and leide (l. 123)	*QVHEN Alexander* the *King* of prys . . . (II 1)
	Persianis . . . That Marciane *had to leid and steir* = Marciens les conduist qui lor drois sires fu (II 1614)
Off thir twa that I taulde of are (162)	Efter *thir tua I tell of* heir (IV 10211)
To thar kynge, that was worthi (172)	The *Kingis* ensigne *that was worthy* (I 1752)

[1] "Forly" and "tane kepe" do not appear in the 'Buik,' which uses "with ly," "tane tent," but there is fluctuation in the Wyntoun MSS. between "forly" and "with ly"—*e.g.*, l. 2746, and between "kepe" and "tent"—*e.g.*, l. 183.

[2] *E.g.*, inkirly, W, IV 130.

[3] We omit phrases like l. 2788, "nowthir man na page," and l. 126 (MSS. AELR), "eftir his day," as general Middle English; so also ll. 209-12, 2842, 2918, &c.

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WYNT.	B. A.
Bot othir wayis al ȝheide the gle (176)	*Bot vther wayis* it micht not be (II 42)
	All vther wayes my lufe man *ga* (II 2394)
	I sall wit how *the gle* is *gane* (I 2171)
[Edward I.] gryppit ay, but gayne giffynge (203)	Bot reiffis *forout agane-geuing* = Ains tolés sans rendage (III 6729)
He buskyt hym but mar habaide (230)	And armit thame *but mair abaide* (I 87)
And til Inglande agayne is gane (232)	The maidinnis *ar agane* him *gane* (IV 10606)
Tharfor eftyr fel gret ille (256)	*Great ill fallis* of villanes speik (II 2639)

WYNTOUN, VIII xvii.	'BUIK OF ALEXANDER.'
That Scottis men mycht do nathynge That euir mycht pleysse to thar lykynge (2739)	That na man forsakes *na* kynde *of thing* Fra thay se it be his *lyking* = Ne nus ne li sait riens refuser ne laissier (II 2947)
And gif ony thar at was wratthe (2743)	Quha-euer *thairat wraith* or blyth *be* (I 809)
Thai walde swa do that thai sulde tyne Outhir lande, or lyf, or lywe in pyne (2751)	Baith *lyfe* and *land* he lost attanes [Not in F.] (IV 9566) *Tine* he *sall*, outher leif the *land* (II 213)
And knychtis slew that war worthi (2754)	And the *knychtis war* sa *wourthy* (I 2003)
Gret pete of the folk he hade (2769)	*Haue of* thir *folke* reuth and *pitie* (I 837 and 2116) Alexander *had great pitie* (II 3114)
Thai sla our folk but encheson (2775)	[to] disheris *but enchesoun* = desheriter par mauvaise ochoison (II 4871)
And I sal be in ȝoure helpynge Withe thi ȝhe gif me al the lande (2780)	ȝour liege man becum *I sall* And hold of ȝow *my landis all* *With-thy*, &c. (IV 10495)
Al hail my landis sal ȝowris be (2785)	The pryse *all haill* of this iorne, And our weilfair, *sall ȝowris be* (I 325)
The lard the Brwis herd this carpynge (2791)	Quhan Caulus *hard his carping* (I 761)

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WYNT.	B. A.
Than Cwmyne his leif tuk, and haym went (2813)	And *tuk his leif and* furth is *went* (III 6329)
And let hym withe the lettyr passe, Til entyr it, as forspokyn was. (2851)	quhill the presonis Be changed, *as forespokin is* = puis qu'ensi leur agrée (III 6614)
The Broys lape on, and thiddyr rade (2916)	*Lap on and* to his fallowis *raid* (II 4219)

II. SIMILAR LINES.

WYNTOUN, VIII ii.	'BUIK OF ALEXANDER.'
For in this warlde, that is sa wide (218)	I wate that *in this warld sa wyde* (I 382)
And fra he wist qwhat charge thai hade (229)	But thay *wist* nocht *quhat* help *thay hade* (II 4052)
"Schir," he said, "sa Cryst [MSS. Au E E^2 L R God] me saif, The kynrik ȝarn I noucht til haf" (245)	Than *said* Lyoun "*sa God me saif*, Sik pryse think *I nocht to haif*" (I 327)
And gif God wil that it swa be (248)	Bot *God will* nocht *that it swa be* (I 227)

WYNTOUN, VIII xvii.	'BUIK OF ALEXANDER.'
And of gret lordis sum thai slew, And sum thai hangit, and sum thai drew[4] [MSS. Au E^2 R omit And . . . and in l. 2758] (2757)	*Sum* he woundit and *sum* he *slew* And *sum* doun to the erd he *drew* (IV 10091)
Bot, wit ȝhe weil, he was richt blithe (2854)	*Wit ȝe weill he was* vn*blyth* = grant ire en a eüe (IV 9139) He wes neuer in all his lyfe, *Wit ȝe weill*, halfe sa *blyth* (IV 8940)

The similarities enumerated in the above lists at first seem close enough to suggest that the translator of the 'Buik' and the author of the 'Bruce' were one and the same person. It is perhaps remarkable that the exordium proper of the 'Bruce' should also be the exordium of both the works translated from the French, for if Scottish

[4] Cp. 'Br.' II 466:

Sum thai ransownyt, sum thai slew,
And sum thai hangyt and sum thai drew.

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poems were, like Papal Bulls, designated by their first two words, as some are in the well-known list of the 'Complaynt of Scotlande,' the title of the 'Bruce' and that of both Part I. and Part II. of the 'Buik' would coincide: "Quhen Alexander." But these two words are also the virtual exordium of the 'Wallace' (I. 41). Mr W. M. Mackenzie's discovery of one line (248) common to the 'Buik' and to Wyntoun's excerpt seemed to some critics almost sufficient to settle the authorship question in Barbour's favour.[5] We find three more lines showing similarity just as marked (245-6 and 2854), but are less confident in our conclusions, because with a little industry it is possible to produce such resemblances from works other than Barbour's.[6] Thus not only "Quhen Alexander" but the whole opening couplet is found in the earliest extant poem in Scots, and Mr Mackenzie's line may be paralleled almost as well from Wyntoun as from the 'Buik': "For he *wald* nocht *it sa* suld *be*" (W, VII. 702). Reference to Wyntoun has not only allowed us to omit from the above lists rare uses apparently peculiar to the excerpt and the 'Buik,'[7] as well as large numbers of apparent

[5] Ed. 'Bruce,' Appendix E, p. 506. Reviewers thought Mr Mackenzie's discovery significant ('Athenæum,' 31st July 1909) or conclusive ('Times Lit. Suppl.,' 22nd July 1909).

[6] Cp. with l. 218, the Towneley Play of Noah, l. 541:

"Thise floodis not afright all *this warld so wide*,"

and Chaucer 'Knight's Tale,' l. 2441:

"God that al *this wyde world* hath wrought."

[7] In this matter the O.E.D., most of which was published before the S.T.S. edition of Wyntoun, is less helpful than usual.

The earliest example in O.E.D. of one use of *than*, in:

Durst nane of Walis in batale ride . . .
Than he sulde lif and lymmys tyne (193-6)

is 'Br.' I 501 [=l. 2789 in Wyntoun]; the next is dated 1585. But the use occurs in 'B. A.' (IV 9723) and in Wyntoun (W, IV 608).

Mawite=MAVITE (l. 216), frequent in 'Br.' and in 'B. A.,' is not recorded elsewhere by O.E.D., but it occurs in Wyntoun.

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parallels,[8] but also casts doubt on some which we do enter, and it might even provide the perverse with "proof" that the translator of the 'Buik' was Wyntoun or Wyntoun's anonymous contributor.[9] And here let us record

[8] *E.g.:*

l. 127. at the last . . . *rime* fast	'B. A.,' II 4901, but also in Wynt. (W, II 391, VIII 885, &c.)
160. but fenȝheynge	II 2363, but also in Wynt. (W, V 4960, &c.)
2780. in ȝour helpynge	I 168, 2210, II 2955, but also in Wynt. (W, VIII 1807).
2920. with hewy chere	IV 9601, but also in Wynt. (W, VII 855).
than withe a knyf He reft hym in that stede the lif (2923)	Prevaly he gat *a knyf*, *With* that fra hire [= her] *he reft the lif* Wynt. (W, II 119).

[9] Parallels to the following lines of the excerpt are not to be found in the 'Buik of Alexander,' but do occur—and sometimes they are very close—in Wyntoun, and, moreover, in parts of the Chronicle remote from the excerpt :—

Excerpt.	Elsewhere in Wyntoun.
For sum walde haf the Ballyol kynge, For he was cummyn of that ofsprynge (135)	To byd him cum and be thar *king;* *For he wes cummyn of the ofspring* Off Brutus (W, V 3307; cp. also W, V 3199)
And said that he thar kynge sulde be That . . . was cummyn of the nerrast malle (139-41)	*He suld be king* . . . *That cumyn were* be lyne femall (W, IV 1803)
ony malle That be lyne war discendande (146-7)	And syne *be lyne* evin *descendand* (I 1413, II 639, &c.)
pesse and rest (166)	(W, V 4865, VII 315)
And al the lande [he] drew til his pesse (2729)	*And the lande* off Italy *He drew hail til* his senȝhory (C, V 4959)
And sum thai put in harde preson (2759)	Than wes he *put in harde presoune* (C, II 345)
ta the state (2784, &c.)	(W, V 1276; C, V 4235)
tauld al the casse (2805)	(W, VIII 107)
And thiddyr he sommonde richt straytly The barownys (2816)	. . . the clergy Gert him be summond rycht straitly (W, V 3394)

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our surprise that no one should have yet followed up the suggestion made, but at once withdrawn, by Pinkerton in 1790, and have set out to show that the contributor (c. 1390) was the modest Archdeacon of Aberdeen. Whoever did so would certainly reap a rich harvest of very remarkable parallels. The similarities collected in note 9 might, of course, be explained away as due to imitation of Barbour on Wyntoun's part. But they give us pause, and while noting that the language of Barbour as contained in Wyntoun's excerpt [10] is markedly similar to that of our 'Buik,' we stress meantime the differences in vocabulary, and regard the evidence as corroborating, but not proving, the theory of common authorship.

CHAPTER VIII.: THE AUTHENTICITY OF OUR 'BRUCE' IN THE LIGHT OF WYNTOUN'S EXCERPT.

§ 27. How Wyntoun utilised the 'Bruce.'

Leaving these two portions of authenticated text of the 'Bruce,' we must, before we can safely proceed, inquire into the soundness of the rest, which is an essential factor in the problem. Verbally, the text in Wyntoun tallies exactly with that of our 'Bruce,' except for a few trifling

[10] Among the many resemblances, elsewhere than in the excerpt, between Wyntoun's phrases and those of the 'Buik' may be noted—

Bot at ane lytill burne passing His horss him failȝeit of leping = Au travers d'un roion qu'il devoit trespasser (I 1113)	Thar, *at a litil burne passynge*, Schir Thomas hurt was in the kne (C, VIII 4588).

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variants;[1] and the Wyntoun MSS., so divergent elsewhere, here agree closely with each other,[2] as also with both the E and the H versions of the 'Bruce.'[3] But there are grievous discrepancies in the subject-matter. Many passages of the text which we possess are missing in Wyntoun's excerpt. From this fact, which obviously warrants the gravest doubts on the authenticity of our 'Bruce,' Mr Brown inferred that these passages were not in the 'Bruce' in Wyntoun's day, but are late interpolations, whereupon Dr Neilson retorted that Wyntoun may just as well be supposed to have had a text containing these portions before him when he made his excerpt, and have omitted them for good and sufficient reason. To determine which view is the more reasonable, let us

[1] In spelling, *e.g.*, 131 *ryolte*, E reawte; in easily interchangeable words, 123 *our*, the, 251 (and frequently) *befor*, forouch, or in phrases where the same idea may be variously worded—ll. 225-8, 2811-12, 2833-4. MS. E often finds some support in one or other of the Wyntoun MSS., but 213 *peralouse*, E wnfayr, 2820 *wyttyngr*, E persawyng, are unsupported; 184 *Off Walis* Alwayis, peculiar to E, is clearly wrong.

[2] The variants from all the Wyntoun MSS. are given (from Amours' edition) because there is no "textus receptus":

A = St Andrews [first half of the sixteenth century].

Au = Auchinleck [early sixteenth century].

C = Cottonian [1475-1500].

E^1 = First Edinburgh (denoted E by Mr Amours; our designation is merely to differentiate MS. E of Wyntoun from MS. E of the 'Bruce') [early sixteenth century].

E^2 = Second Edinburgh [early sixteenth century; probably a copy of Au].

H. See below.

L = Lansdowne [early sixteenth century].

R = Royal [1440-50; the oldest and the only complete *text*].

W = Wemyss [*c.* 1500; the earliest *version*].

The text we quote is that of C. Br = the text of the 'Bruce' as in MS. E = Edinburgh, 1488, supported by H = Hart's printed edition, 1616. MS. H of Wyntoun we do *not* quote; it is the late seventeenth century Harleian MS., an abridged copy of W, largely valueless, and it would cause confusion here with "H" of the 'Bruce.'

[3] In MS. C of the 'Bruce,' imperfect at the beginning, the first three "Books" and ll. 1-56 of "Book" IV. (and therefore this passage) are missing; but C agrees throughout so consistently with E (see W. M. Mackenzie, ed. 'Br.,' p. vii.) that the readings of E (confirmed by H) are certainly sound. MS. W of Wyntoun is particularly close to E (*c.g.*, ll. 2768 and 2772), and when readings of W are supported by E they no doubt give Barbour's own words.

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consider, firstly, the circumstances in which Wyntoun utilised the 'Bruce'; secondly, the nature of the passages in question.

When the Original Chronicle, in its somewhat weary pilgrimage from the Garden of Eden to the Scotland of Robert II., was in the fulness of time approaching the reign of Robert I., Wyntoun reflected that the events of those stirring times had already been more fully told—and, as he adds with modesty and probably with truth, better told—by Barbour than he himself could hope to tell them. He was therefore minded to pass over the period rapidly, and gratefully borrowed Barbour's account of the years immediately prior to Robert's reign: the disputed succession to Alexander III. (*d.* 19th March 1286), the rival claims of the Balliol and Bruce families, the consequent intervention of Edward I., the assembly at Norham (May 10, 1291), and how Bruce refused, and John Balliol accepted, submission to the English king. After describing (from other sources) how the dispute was submitted to the Parliament of Paris, how Balliol was declared king by Edward, crowned (Nov. 30, 1292) and soon after deposed (July 7, 1296), and how Wallace withstood King Edward (1296-1305), Wyntoun returned to Barbour [4] for the murder of Comyn (Feb. 10, 1306). He then referred his readers to Barbour's 'Bruce' [5] for

[4] With the remark that, except for the opposition of Wallace, Edward was in possession of all Scotland—

> The Archedeyne in Brwsis buk,
> Qwha wil in til it the first end luk,
> Sayis: Fra Wyk . . . til Galway . . . (2733-6).

[5] Qwhat eftir this Broys Robert
Qwhat] A, Au, E^2, R = Quhat that; E^1 = Quhen that.
In al his tyme did eftyrwart,
tyme] E^1 = lif.
The Archedeyne of Abyrdeyne,
L = archidiacre.

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the rest of the story—*i.e.*, the reign of King Robert from his coronation at Scone (March 27, 1306) to his death (June 7, 1329).

Wyntoun's own words show clearly enough the spirit in which he made these borrowings. He quotes Barbour with evident respect, as the proper authority on King Robert's reign, and is careful not to encroach on his period, but to borrow only from his Introduction, which deals with the preliminary events, from 1286 to 1306. In that strictly limited utilisation of the 'Bruce,' Wyntoun does not say that he will quote *in extenso*, and in his other allusions to Barbour [6]—in connection with Balliol's rights, the marriage of David II. and Joanna, and the incident of Douglas and the Bruce's Heart—restricts himself to brief reference, without quotation. For the style of the 'Bruce' he expresses the frankest admiration; what he did copy, he copied faithfully, without venturing on improvement of the diction.[7] His words convey the impression that the 'Bruce' was a monumental work, on the ample scale, say, of the 'Original Chronicle.' In the eyes of Wyntoun, who in his own writings and borrow-

In Broysis buk he gert be seyne,
R = In Brwys hys buk. *he gert*] Au, E^2, R = has gert; L = hes maid.
Mar wisly in to wryt
A = And maire; E^1 = Thar mair. *in*] Au, E^2, L, R = tretyde in.
Than I can thynk in al my wit;
in] Au, E^2, R, wyth. *al*] Au, E^2 *om.* L = Than I can say or put in dyte.
Tharfor I wil now thus lichtly
now] E^2, nocht. *thus*] Au, E^2, rycht; L *om.*
Our at this tyme passe the story.
passe] R *om.* Au, E^2 = Oure pass this tyme his story; L = Heir pas with this story. (2923-30).

[6] Wyntoun's references to Barbour or the 'Bruce,' fourteen in number, are conveniently collected by Mr Amours in his edition of the Chronicle, Vol. i., pp. lxxvii-viii.

[7] Since in the later versions (*e.g.*, C) the extract proceeds further than in the earliest version (W), which stops at l. 2776, Wyntoun would appear to have observed varying degrees of discretion in the extent of his borrowing.

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ings shows no craving for undue brevity, Barbour had "mekyl tretyt" of his subject.[8] A reference to the 'Bruce' had to be given with some precision, to "the first end,"[9] or to "the latter end,"[10] of the work. It thus seems that to reach the generous proportions which the 'Bruce' can boast to-day, it required no amplification by a later hand than Barbour's, and that the verbal identity noted above in no way precludes omission by Wyntoun of matter which he considered irrelevant to his own purpose.

§ 28. The Nature of the Passages in the 'Bruce' which are Missing in Wyntoun's Excerpt.

As to the character of the passages found in our 'Bruce,' but absent from Wyntoun's excerpt, some are couplets[1] expanding a preceding line in the manner familiar to mediæval scribes or authors. These may be due to Barbour or to one of his copyists; they may, however, have been dropped by Wyntoun inadvertently, or omitted as unnecessary, or unsuitable for his purposes. Two of them have every appearance of having been deliberately omitted by Wyntoun. His own editor, Mr Amours—who, though a friend and fellow-citizen of Dr Brown and Dr Neilson, remained curiously aloof from their controversies (and

[8] L. 177. For thi said Mastyr Johun Barbere,
That mekyl tretyt of that mater:
"A! blynde folk," &c.

In round numbers the 'Bruce' has 13,550 lines, the 'Chronicle' has 22,000 lines, of which 6000, however, are by Wyntoun's collaborator; the 'Destruction of Troy' 14,000, 'Wallace' 12,000, but in longer verse, the 'Buik of Alexander' 14,000.

[9] See note 4, *supra*.

[10] (W) VIII 2874, for Barbour's account of the marriage of David II.

[1] After lines 222, 252, 2738, 2744, 2752, 2807, 2916.

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whose opinion [2] of Wyntoun as a master of words was higher than ours),—roundly suggests [3] that the reason why the good Prior of Lochleven omitted the couplet after l. 222 [4] was that he did not know the meaning of the rare term "mowence." [5] The couplet after l. 252 [6] is obscure; Wyntoun's one-line version of the three lines in E is at least clear.

The other passages are more important and much longer. They are all in the nature of parentheses, and therefore might on *a priori* grounds be explained with equal probability either as interpolations made in the 'Bruce' after Barbour's day or else as digressions existing in the 'Bruce' as it stood in 1420, and omitted by Wyntoun as being outside his subject. Let us consider the special circumstances of each case:—

After line 256 ("Tharfor [because of Balliol's submission to Edward's will] eftyr fel gret ille") the 'Bruce' has 8 lines (I. 171-8) [to the effect that Balliol became King, but was soon deposed, whether rightly or wrongly; on the justice or injustice of his deposition no opinion is expressed]. This is not an "interpolation"; at l. 256 Wyntoun ceases quoting the 'Bruce' until Chap. XVII., and his intervening chapters include a much fuller account of Balliol's brief reign than that given in the 8 lines which they supersede.

Line 2754 ("And knychtis slew that war worthi"—one of the misdeeds imputed to Edward's army of occupation) is followed in the 'Bruce' by 58 lines (I. 217-74): [Thus were the Scots ill-treated . . . Freedom is a noble thing . . . He who has been a thrall prizes freedom more than gold . . .

[2] Ed. Wyntoun, I. p. lix.
[3] Ibid., *ad loc.*
[4] "For to knaw in his prescience
Off alkyn tyme the mowence."
[5] = muance, recorded by O.E.D. in Barbour and Caxton only.
[6] E has: "*The tothir* wrethyt him, and swar
That he suld have it neuir-mar:
And turnyt him in wrath away" ('Br.' I 165).
Wyntoun has for the three lines:
"Withe this Robert past his way."

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A comparison between thraldom and wedlock]. To treat the purple patch on Freedom [7] as an interpolation made after 1420 is a strong step, and it may be doubted whether Dr Brown in propounding his theory foresaw this, its logical consequence, and counted the cost. The utter irrelevance of the excursus on the topic of Matrimony as an intermediary stage between Freedom and Thraldom has diverted generations of Barbour's more modern readers, and it is not unreasonable to assume that Wyntoun, though not himself conspicuous by his regard for strict relevance, omitted the whole passage because the bearing of the latter part of it on Scottish history was no clearer to him than it is to us.

After lines 2759-60 (" And sum [= great lords] thai [= the English] put in harde preson, But ony causs or enchesone ") the ' Bruce ' continues with 196 lines not in Wyntoun (I. 281-476) : [And among others William of Douglas was imprisoned. He was slain, but his son James well avenged his death. . . . James of Douglas returns to Scotland (283-360) . . . his character . . . his likeness to Hector of Troy (361-406). . . . Edward at Stirling refused to reinstate him in his lands (407-44). . . . Here begins the Romance of men who from distress came to victory and renown, and who were like the Maccabees in their patriotism (445-76)]. This long passage appears genuine. It flows naturally from the Prologue, in which two heroes are announced, Bruce and Douglas. It is no argument to say that an author who passes over in silence the youth of the Bruce, together with the doings of his father and grandfather, would not have expatiated thus on the youth of Douglas and his father's imprisonment and death. Proportionate treatment of his two heroes is not a strong point with Barbour. And surely there are historical circumstances which account only too well for his silence on the ancestors and early career of the Bruce. What good could he say of the two elder Bruces, either the father or the grandfather ? Their patriotism was dubious. About the Bruce's father, who had marched into Scotland under Edward's banner, and about the Bruce himself till after much tergiversation he broke with England, the less said was the better. William of Douglas, though his record is not quite clear, died in an English prison for the Scottish cause, and the story of his son James, a boy who grew up to avenge his death, was a safer, a more congenial, theme. In the long " Introduction " to the Romance, Bruce is essentially the claimant, Douglas the youthful hero. The passage is out of focus and clumsily introduced, apparently

[7] There is a quite analogous panegyric of "vorschip" [valour]. 'Br.' VI 325-58.

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somewhat as an afterthought. It delays the beginning of the Romance proper ('Br.' I. 446), and is, by the unhappy loose reference "Thys lord the Brwyss I spak of ayr" ('Br.' I. 477), a contributory cause of the apparent confusion of the Bruce with his grandfather, of which so much has been made.[8] But the more parenthetical its appearance, the more likely was it to be omitted by Wyntoun, whose theme was Bruce, not Douglas, and whose aim was history, not biography.

After describing how a pact was made between Bruce and Comyn, and how they had sworn "Til halde al that thai spokyn hade" (l. 2802), the 'Bruce' has 46 extra lines (I. 515-560) [beginning—

> "Bot off all thing wa worth tresoun! . . .
> Wes nocht all Troy with tresoune tane?
> Quhen ten ȝeris of the wer wes gane?"[9]

And by treachery were not Alexander, Julius Cæsar, and King Arthur slain?] These historical allusions are such as any later moralist could have added, but they are also such as Wyntoun might well read, admire, but refrain from reproducing. That he did read them seems probable from the fact (which Dr Brown, *o. c.*, p. 120, points out, somewhat inadvisedly for his own theories) that 'Br.' I. 545, "Slayne with punsoune rycht to the ded," is repeated by Wyntoun, IV. 2312.

After l. 2812, where Edward, apprised of the pact by Comyn's treachery, determines to punish Bruce, 'Br.' has 16 extra lines (I. 573-88): [Comyn expected thus to rule in Scotland. . . . "Bot oft failȝeis the fulis thocht" (l. 582)], nor are wise men's hopes always fulfilled. The remark is not essential. That it is genuine and that Wyntoun had read it seems not unlikely, because l. 582 (repeated in the 'Bruce,' XI. 21) reappears in Wyntoun (C., VII. 241).

[8] Wyntoun rectified this error (VIII. 2767), but not that by which, in 'Br.' I 67, Bruce's father and grandfather are confused (Wynt., VIII 153). Mr Mackenzie has some excellent remarks on this much-debated subject in his note to 'Br.' I 477, *n.* Professor Schofield, in 'Publications of the Mod. Lang. Assoc. of America,' xxxi. (1916), wishes to take "ayr" as = "heir." It is possible that Barbour became muddled, because "there are four Robert Bruces in the case, to the terror of the historian," as Mr Jenks remarks in his 'Edward I.' without reference to Barbour. But if so, it was only a temporary aberration, a mere slip. That Barbour really thought the grandfather to be the same person as the king we ourselves decline to believe.

[9] The same phrase recurs in the 'Bruce,' IX 359:

> "Quhen sex owkis of the sege ves gane."

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The Bruce, confronted by Edward with the indenture betrayed by Comyn, was in mortal peril "bot gif he mycht Helpe hym-self thar withe sum slycht" (ll. 2831-2). Here MS. E, supported by H, reads: "Bot god of mycht Preserwyt him till hyer hycht," and adds, "That wald nocht that he swa war dede," with some consequent minor modifications of the next two lines. Whether the original text bore "gif he mycht" or "god of mycht," or whether the theology of the alleged divine intervention in Bruce's favour did or did not commend itself to Wyntoun, it is impossible, from the present evidence, to show. But it is noteworthy that in a preceding passage (which we hold for suspect meantime as it is not in Wyntoun), the 'Bruce' employs the same expression—

> "Bot syne our lord sic grace thaim sent,
> That thai syne . . .
> Come till gret hycht . . .
> Bot god, that maist is of all mycht,
> Preserwyt thaim in his forsycht" ('Br.' I 450-60).

Per contra, Wyntoun's excerpt contains one passage (ll. 2863-904) which is absent from our text, relating how [Randolf de Monthermer] Earl of Gloucester ("Glowerne," Wyntoun says, which indicates a Latin source) sent Bruce a pair of spurs, as a broad hint to leave London, and telling a somewhat unconvincing story of "a man" who, having aroused the suspicions of Bruce and his faithful clerk as they were nearing the Border, was found to be carrying letters:—

> "Be the tennore ful weil thai kende
> That Iohun the Cwyme thir letteris sende" (2899).

The language throughout the passage has the ring of Wyntoun's style, notably in the above couplet, with which compare—

> "Qwhene be the *letterys til hyme sende*
> He saw and *be the tenor kende*" (Wynt. C, V 809),

and in l. 2876, "*Consayt had* of the erllis *intent*," which is one of his pet phrases. The whole incident is exactly as described by Fordun, cxiv., ed. Skene, II. p. 339, and Wyntoun is merely translating Fordun's Latin:—

> "Quod cum comes Gloverniæ, ipsius Roberti verus amicus et in suprema necessitate probatus, audisset, fidem cum suo garderopario eadem nocte xii denarios, et unum par calcarium, prædicto Roberto misit festinanter, &c."

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§ 29. Some Logical Consequences of the Allegation that these Passages are Spurious.

In the above survey we have found nothing to support the view that the passages absent from the Excerpt were absent also from the text of the 'Bruce' when Wyntoun transcribed it, but much to support the opposite view. Moreover, the attitude of Wyntoun, and of all the early writers, towards Barbour, was one of profound respect, and it is quite unlikely that any one should have ventured to improve much upon what Barbour had written or to add many explanatory passages; the ideas and the phrasing of the alleged interpolations recur constantly in parts of the 'Bruce' which are not suspect; some of the omitted matter duly appears in Bower, who, since he died in 1449, presumably used an unimproved text; and in passages which occur in parts of the 'Bruce' far removed from the Excerpt, we find that details which might to us seem spurious are copied by Wyntoun and Bower.[1]

[1] Bower, quoting the 'Bruce,' as in the Excerpt, almost literally, continues with an allusion to Judas Maccabeus ('Scotichron,' 1759, XII. iv):

> "Eodem anno, receptis ad pacem tam majoribus quam minoribus regni Scotiæ, excepto Willelmo Wallace solo, redditis sibi castris et villis firmatis universis, a Weyk in Cathenesia usque Mullersnowk in Galweya . . . *Deus . . . suscitavit eis salvatorem . . . nomine Robertum de Bruce, qui . . . tanquam alter Machabæus, manum mittens ad fortia, pro fratribus liberandis, innumeros et inportabiles diei æstus, frigoris et famis in terra et in mari subiit labores.*"

The italicised part, which Bower found in Fordun, corresponds to 'Br.' I. 465-71, which Wyntoun omitted. There is every reason to suppose that Wyntoun's text of the 'Bruce' contained the allusion, which would come as naturally to Barbour as to Fordun.

The burial of Gloucester and other great lords after Bannockburn is closely paralleled in the 'Buik'; see 'Br.' XIII, 511 and 622, and *supra*, § 19. Wyntoun read the *whole* description, including what seems to come from the 'Buik,' because he specially mentions the Bruce's regret for Gilbert de Clare's death at Bannockburn, and cites Barbour as the authority:

> "King Robert for him wes perfay
> Sumdeill dolorus and pensif,
> For thai luffit other in thar lif,
> As writtin is in King Robertis buke" (W, VIII 912).

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The natural interpretation of the facts is that Wyntoun, whose theme was the history not of King Robert but of the planet, and who acknowledges fatigue when nearing the end of his long task, condensed what he copied. While respectfully quoting Barbour, he felt no call to copy out passages manifestly parenthetical and remote from the historical theme under discussion. The first such passage he does indeed transcribe, but with the remark, "For thi said mastyr Iohun Barbere." This deference he did not continue throughout, for reasons which there was little necessity for him to specify, and less for later critics to ignore.

Since these passages have been considered by Dr Brown to be interpolations in the full sense of the term, let us for the moment treat them as such, and observe what light they throw on the interpolator. If we admit the excursus on Freedom to be an interpolation, let us also admit that it is a singularly fortunate one for Barbour's poetic fame. It is true that the interpolator's zeal carried him too far—naturally enough from Freedom to Thraldom, less naturally from the bond of Thraldom to the bond of Matrimony. He brought, together with the brightest jewel in Barbour's crown, some most unhappy contributions; but on balance he was a good friend to Barbour.

Noting that the author of the 'Ur-Bruce' had in his Prologue promised to speak of Bruce *and* Douglas, and has not yet referred to the latter, the interpolator decides that no more time must be lost in making good the promise, and obligingly adds there and then a long account of the youth of Douglas, his character and his likeness to Hector of Troy. As for the excursus on 'Tresoun,' it is a model of tactful allusion. Bruce has made a solemn

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pact with Comyn (l. 510), and now (l. 560) Comyn will betray him to Edward. To Barbour no comment had appeared necessary, or none was forthcoming, but the interpolator is more alert, and exclaims, "Bot of all thing, wa worth Tresoun!" For who, indeed, can guard against treachery? "Wes nocht all Troy with tresoune tane?"—which is alliterative, undeniable, a matter of common knowledge, and a highly appropriate sentiment to put into the mouth of one who, like Barbour, has from the early fifteenth century been credited with a 'Siege of Troy.'[2] Other "examples" crowd in upon the interpolator's well-stored mind: "Alexander the conqueroure" . . . "Iulius Cesar als" . . . "Als Arthur" —*i.e.*, those of the Nine Worthies who scaled the heights of fame but by Treason died. Not all of those available among the Nine, however, for Hector, too, died by treachery. Why omit Hector? Perhaps because he was among the interpolator's unnamed heroes of Troy who "mycht nocht haiff beyn tane throw mycht, Bot tresoun tuk thaim throw hyr slycht" (527-8); perhaps because he had already done service, in ll. 395-406, as an example to whom James of Douglas might (almost) be compared. The interpolator adds here not *all* his possible contributions, just enough to free Barbour from reproach as lacking in the power of apt historical illustration.

So is he quick to moralise suitably on Comyn's folly,

[2] A MS. of Lydgate's 'Siege of Troy' in the Cambridge University Library (Kk. V. 30) begins with the fragmentary 'Troy-Book' often attributed to Barbour [printed by C. Horstmann in his 'Barbour's Legendensammlung,' Heilbronn (Henninger), 1881, pp. x + 307; pp. 215-307]. The fifteenth-century scribe deserts the Scottish version for Lydgate's, with the words, "Her endis Barbour and beginnis the monk," and resumes it, with a long passage at the end, remarking, "Her endis the monk and begynnis Barbour." MS. Douce 148 of the Bodleian contains the second of these fragments (1556 lines), tacked on to Lydgate's version. The ascription to Barbour has been contested on grounds which we believe insecure (see *infra*, § 41, *n.* 11).

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in sixteen added lines, to bring about the intervention of Divine Providence in Bruce's favour by a clever little emendation in one line and the addition of two more, but to *omit* the Earl of Gloucester and his spurs and the unconvincing "man," as falling short of the lofty standard to which he is laboriously raising Barbour's imperfect work.[3] Thus does the pious interpolator deck out the too short and simple annals of the 'Bruce' that Barbour made—and with such cunning artistry that the texture of his additions is indistinguishable from the original material, in no wise differing in tone from the author's unaided general remarks,—not corrections or expostulations or *obiter dicta*, not a couplet or two stupidly inserted here and there as your dull scholiasts do, but now a little sentence made to match the rough fabric of Barbour's style and deftly woven in, now a long historical illustration, or a supplementary monograph on the youth of James of Douglas. To think that this was done after A.D. 1438, anonymously, without hope of credit or reward, that Scotland might never have to blush for her first epic, or all for the love of Archdeacon Barbour, who had then been in the grave for forty years and more! Most noble Interpolator! Would that all writers were as well served as was John Barbour after death!

[3] Or in Dr Brown's phrase, 'Wall. and Br.' 155, "striving to bring it into harmony with his own conceptions of the higher canons of art."

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CHAPTER IX.: THE ORIGINS OF THE ALLEGED INTERPOLATIONS IN THE 'BRUCE.'

§ 30. The 'Ballet of the Nine Nobles.'

It is not wholly from the depths of a noble heart, beating with patriotic solicitude for a beloved but slightly incompetent predecessor, that the "Interpolator," if such he be, brings forth the supplementary matter which the 'Bruce' seemed to require: it is from two precise literary sources. One of them is the 'Buik of Alexander,' as is admitted on all hands, with unwonted unanimity. The other is the 'Ballet of the Nine Nobles,' which all parties overlooked,[1] and which was yet an important, perhaps a decisive, factor in a baffling problem. The 'Ballet'[2] was composed by the person who translated our 'Buik.'

A glance at the text which we print here—that of the

[1] Dr Neilson mentioned ('H. A. R.,' p. 127) Barbour as "suspected" of writing the 'Ballet,' but did not apparently put the "suspicions" to the test.

[2] Preserved only because it happens to have been incorporated in two MSS. of Fordun, both in the University Library, Edinburgh; see Miss C. R. Borland's 'Catalogue of MSS. in Edinb. Univ. Libr.' (Constable), 1916, pp. xxxi + 359; pp. 272-4. One is the MS. (written in 1510) of Fordun's 'Chronicle'; the 'Ballet' is found at the end (Fo. 343), in the same hand as the rest. The other is the MS. (written in 1521) of Law's abbreviation of the 'Scotichronicon.' The variants of the Law MS. are relatively few and unimportant, except in ll. 18 and 21, where the reading is better, and show that the MSS. stand very close to a common ancestor. It is hastily written; several words are erased or corrected, and in l. 62 "hard," left unerased, suggests that the scribe had begun to write "hardyest" when he noticed that his original bore "douchtyest." The 'Ballet' was printed by David Laing in his 'Select Remains of Ancient Popular Poetry of Scotland,' 1822, p. 186, and again by Professor W. A. Craigie in 'Anglia,' XXI. (Neue Folge, Band IX.), 1899, pp. 359-65, who collated Laing's text with the MS. in Fordun, noted the variants of Law's MS., added the French text [of MS. S as published by Paul Meyer in the 'Bulletin de la Société des Anciens Textes,' 1883, pp. 45-54], pointed out the common authorship of the 'Ballet' and the 'Buik,' and proposed as the date of the 'Ballet' *c.* 1440.

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Fordun MS., carefully checked, collated with the other MS. (and purged of several minor errors and inadvertences found in the two published editions)—will show that 'Bruce,' 'Buik,' and 'Ballet' are closely interrelated. A flood of light will be shed on the operations of the alleged Interpolator by a detailed comparison of the 'Ballet' with passages selected from the 'Bruce' and the 'Buik' [and occasionally from 'Sir Ferumbras,' the 'Morte Arthure,' and Wyntoun, quoted (as in § 19) by way of illustration, and enclosed in square brackets] :—

DE NOUEM NOBILIBUS.

Fo. 313 col. *a*

I.

Hectour of troy throu hard feichthynge
[Hector of troye throw harde fethinge

In half thrid ȝeris slew xix kynge
half thrid] xiij

And ãmiralle a hund·ȝ and mare
admirallis *hund·ȝ*] hundreth

Wyt small folk at vnrackyñit war
smal; yt not reknit ware

He slew sa fell at wes ferly
feil yt was

Qwhaṁ achilez slew tresnabili
achilles; tresnabilly

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I. HECTOR.

1-6
Suith it is *gude Hector* was wicht . . .
Into the half thrid ȝeir all anerly
That he loued throw cheualry,
Of crouned *Kingis he slew nynetene*
But dukes and erlis, as I wene,
That was *sa fell it is ferly;*
Syne *Achilles slew* him *tressonabilly*
=Voirs est qu'Ector fu preus desmesuréement . . .
Es issues c'on fist par son enortement
Ocist .xix. roys, sus son cors deffendant,
Et amiraus et contes, ce croi je, plus de .C.,
Puis l'ocist Achilles moult traÿteusement
(B. A. IV. 9897-912).

Till gud *Ector of Troy* mycht he [Douglas]
In mony thingis liknyt be
(Br. I. 395).

That thay of thairis sall haue na thing
Bot thay it win *throw hard fechting*
(B. A. I. 67 and *passim*).

And him reskewit with *hard fichting*
(Br. X. 732, &c.)

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II.

Alex·ȝ als nobil a kyng
Alexander of macedo ye nobil kyng

In xij ȝere wan̄ throu hard feithyng
throw harde feching
fething

Al landis vnd·ȝ ye formament.
All ye landis ond·ȝ ye firmament

Eqwhethir a dai in till ꝑlement
Quhil a day (he said : *erased*) in plain ꝑliament

He said he had but variance
He said for outtyn wariance

Our litill in till his gou·ȝnance.
He had our litill to his gouernance

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[Wes takin thare *throu hard fechting*
(W. IV. 2282)].

[And vther mony marteris sere
That may nocht all be *reknyt* heire
(W. V. 2559)].

He had *so fele it wes ferly*
(Br. XI. 113).

Sa mony men, *it wes ferly*
(Br. XIV. 245).

II. ALEXANDER.

ALEXANDER.

. . . Rang seuin ȝeir *as nobill King,*
Wan all this warld vnder the firmament.
Than on *ane day, in plane parliament,*
10 *He said he had* in all-kin thing
Our lytill land *till his* leding
=Alixandres aussi [*v. r.* li larges] dont je vous voi parlant . . .
En .xij. ans reconquist tres viguereusement
Quanque l'en pot trouver [*v. r.* conquerre], desous le firmament ;
Encor ne li plot mie, ains dist apertement
A ses barons, un jour qu'il tenoit parlement,
Qu'il avoit poi de terre a son gouvrenement.
(B. A. IV. 9918-22).

And Alexander the conqueroure
That conqueryt Babilonys tour,
And *all this warld* off lenth and breid
In twelf yher, throw his douchty deid
(Br. I. 529).
Alexander, the *nobill King*
(B. A. I. 241, 2943, 3278).

into plane parliament
(Br. XIX. 49).

[And on *a day in playn Parlyament*
(W. VIII. 1605)].

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III.

Iulius cesar wan hailily
hailily] (halely : *erased*) all halely

Ye ilis of grece and all surry
The landꝭ of grece & of surry

Affrik arab bretañ wañ he
bretan

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III. JULIUS CÆSAR.

13-18

Cesar alsua, that Ingland *wan*,
All that was callit *Bertane*[1] than . . .
In Grece alsua *discumfit he*
Pompeyus, his mauch . . .
Syne Alexander, the great Citte,
Affrik and Asia als, wan he,
Egypt alsua and *Syrie*
And mony vther fare countre,
And *the yles* of the sey *all hale* . . .

=Cesar prist Engleterre qui tout conmunement
Ert nonmée Bretaingne, il y a longuement, . . .
Ponpée son serorge, qu'il aloit guerroiant,
Desconfist il en Gresce . . .
Puis prist Alixandrie, la riche et la manant,
Aufrique, Arrabe, Egypte et Surie ensement,
Et les isles de mer jusques en occident
(B. A. IV. 9923-35).

Iulius Cesar als, that *wan*,
Bretane and Fraunce, as dowchty man,
Affryk, Arrabe, Egipt, *Surry*
And *all* Evrope *halyly ;*

And for his worschip & valour
Off Rome wes fryst maid emperour
(Br. I. 537).

[Wan all thare landis halely
(W. IV. 2481)].

[And al the Ilis in the se
Subiect were till his pouste [Arthur's]
(W. V. 4287)].

---

[1] "When the Bruyte in his booke Bretayne it callede."
'Parlt. 3 Ages,' 407.

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And discūfit his mawche pompe
discomfyst; maicht pompey

Throw hard batell and stalward stour
harde; stalwart stowr

He was the first was empour
In rome ye first he was e'pour

IV.

Ye gentill Jew sch Josue
The gentil Jow schr Joswe

Ane & xxx kynge thro weir wan he
thro] In

And conquirit ye landis also
conquest yar; alswo

Ye flū iordan ptit in two.
The flvm Jordan he

Throw goddis grace and strang power
strang

Men suld hym loff on gret maner
We; loif In

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16
Walter Steward with hym tuk he,
His mawch (H. *Maich*) (Br. XV. 274)

17
And oft in ***hard stour*** of ***bataill***
(Br. I. 23).

Of hard fechting in (H. and) stalwart stour
(Br. XI. 262).

cruell bargane. . . . And hard battall
(Br. XVI. 177).

[assaill
With felloune weir and hard batall
(Wynt., W. II. 1362)].

18
And Lucius Yber wencusyt he,
That then of Rome wes emperour
(Br. I. 554).

IV. Joshua.

19-24
The flum Iordane partit he euin *in tua*
Throw his wisdome and prayers alsua. . . .
Towart the south he taryed lang,
Quhare tuelfe *Kingis wan he*, styth and *strang*, . . .
And reft thame *thare landis* halely
=Par sa sainte priere et par son hardement [*v.r.* souhaidement]
Partit le flun Jourdan, au travers droitement . . .
Vers midi guerroia cil preudons longuement,
Ou xlj. (*v.r.* .xij.] roy [*v.r.* roys] conquist parfaitement,
Les quiex il destruisi tous moult vilainnement,
Et ne leur laissa terre, cité, ne cassement
Qu'il ne feïst tourner a son conmandement
(B. A. IV. 9949-56).

All men thame [Hector, Alexander and Julius Cæsar] lufis generally,
And, as I trow, sall lufe thame ay,
Euermare quhill domisday
=Firent tant c'on les loe partout conmunement
Et loera, je croi, jusqu'au definement
(B. A. IV. 9944).

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v.

Dauid slew myᵗthy golias
golyas

And philistens at felon was
philistianis yᵗ fellon

He wes so wycht et weill feichand
Was; & wel fecthand

Yᵗ he wes neuᵒ sene recriand.
was; sein reſnand [? returnand]

Yair for men call him loud and still
callis hym; lowd

A trew prophet of hardy Will
profeit; harde

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18
[And Judas and Josue these gentille knyghtes]
(M. A. 2606).

23
Throw Goddis grace. (Br. III. 535, &c.)

24
The quhethyr in his tyme sa wrocht he [Hector]
That he *suld gretly lovyt be*
(Br. I. 405).

Attour all sould he louit be
(B. A. I. 3255)

V. DAVID.

25-30
Dauid slew Golyath with strenth
And mony ane fell pagan he brocht,
Maugre thairis, all to nocht,
And was ouer all *sa wele* doand
That he was neuer recryand
Men may say of him tantingly . . .
[Two lines are omitted here (? by the translator or by the printer), presumably as being irreverent.]
=David remist a mort Goulias le jaiant . . .
Et maint felon payen fist venir a noiant.
Et en maint dur estour fu il si bien cheant
C'onques nel pot on rendre vaincu ne recreant.
De cestui pot chascuns dire certainemant
Qu'il fu j. sains pechieres [*v.r.* profetes] en hardi couvenant.
(B. A. IV. 9959-66).

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VI.

Michty Judas machabeus

In bathell slew antiochus
batell

Appolonius and nichanore
Appolinius and nichanor

At in his dais wald neu⁹ schor
neuer

No multitud be adred of meñ
dred

Yoff he war añe eganis teñ
yo^t ; was ; aganis

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VI. Judas Machabæus.

31-36
Iudas Machabeus, I hecht,
Was of sik vertew and sik *micht*
That, thoch thay all that lyfe micht lede
Come *shorand* him as for the dede,
Armit all for cruell battale,
He wald not fle, forouttin faill,
Quhill he, with him of alkin men,
Micht be ay ane aganes ten.
That Iudas that I heir of tell
Slew Antiochus the fell,
And *Appollonius* alsua,
Nicanor als and mony ma
=Iudas Macabeus r'estoit de tel talant
Que, se tuit cil du monde li fussent au devant,
Armé con pour bataille felonnesse et nuisant,
Ja tant con il eüst o soi de remanant
Un honme contre .x., nel veïst on fuiant ;
Icil Iudas dont je vous vois ci sermonant,
Mist Apolinius [*v.r.* Appollonius] a mort en conbatant,
S'ocist Anthiocus, qui l'aloit guerroiant,
Et Nichanor aussi et maint autre tyrant.
(B. A. IV. 9967-79).

Thai [Bruce and Douglas] was lik to the Machabeys.
That, as men in the bibill seys,
Fawcht in-to mony stalwart stour (Br. I. 465).

This gud knycht [= Edward Bruce], that so vorthy was,
Till *Iudas, Machabeus* that hicht,
Micht liknyt weill be in that ficht
Na multitud he forsuk of men,
Quhill he hade ane aganis ten (Br. XIV. 312).

he [Edward Bruce] neuir had none abasing
Of multitude of men ; for-thi
He discumfit commonly
Mony vith quheyn . . . (Br. IX. 485).

36
That ay aganes ane war ten (B. A. II. 1546).

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VII.

Arthur wañ dace spanȝe and france
dace] denm⁹k spañ

And hand for hand slew tua giantis [1]
tua gyante

Lucius ye publik ꝑcurato⁹
procutour

Of rome wyt milleonis in stalwar sto⁹
In rome slew in stalwart stour

And in till pariss schr frollo
till] to

In lyste slew wytoutin mo
listis; wyt od⁹mo

[1] tua, *omitted, is added at the end of the line by the same hand*

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VII. Arthur.

37-42

Arthur, that held Britane the grant,
Slew Rostrik, that stark gyant . . .
And ma gyantis in vther places sua
=D'Artus qui de Bretaingne va le bruit [*v.r.* brut] tesmoingnant
Que il mata Ruiston .i. jaiant en plain champ . . .
(B. A. IV. 9981-91).

Als Arthur, that throw chevalry
Maid Bretane maistres & lady
Off twelf kin [rykis] that he wan ;
And alsua, as a noble man,
He wan throw bataill Fraunce all fre ;[1]
And Lucius Yber wencusyt he,
That then of Rome wes emperour :
Bot ȝeit, for all his gret valour,
Modreyt his systir son him slew,
And gud men als, ma then inew,[2]
Throw tresoune and throw wikkitnes.
The Broite beris tharoff wytnes.
(Br. I. 549-60).

[. . . Arthoure
That wan al Frawnsse and Lumbardy . . .
Denmark, Irland and Orknaye
Wynt. (C. VIII. 4258-64)].

Off Arthouris gret douchtynes . . .
How . . . that he tuk syne his wayage,
Fra Lucyus had sende hym the message
Till Italy . . .
And [W. And *thare*] discomfit the emperoure,
And wan gret worschepe and honoure
Off Frawnsse nere the bordowris set,
In were as thai to gedyr met,
And of tresson til hym don
Be Modrede, his systyr son . . .
Hucheon has tretyt curyously
In Gest of Brutis aulde story
Wynt. (C., V. 4331-52).

---

[1] ["For he [Maximiane] wald ga wyne France all fre" (Wynt. W, V 3220).]

[2] [After Lucius was slain Arthur forbade quarter to be given, that the death of Sir Cayous should be well avenged :

They hewede doune haythene mene with hiltede swerdez
Be hole hundrethes (M. A. (Perry) 2274-5)].

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VIII.

Charlez of france slew aygoland
Carles

And wañ spanȝe fra hethoun land.
hethyn hand

He slew ye sowdeñ of pavi
sodan of pawe

And wañ ye saxonis halily
halile

And quhar god [1] deid for our safte
crist deit ; sawite

Col. *b.* He put haly the cristante.
hail It in cristinte

[1] god : *added after the end of the line.*

IX.

Godefrey bolȝoñe slew solimant
Godfra bollone

Befor antioche and corborant
corrobrant

Quhañ he throu ful strak has ourtane
wyt strak hais o2 tain

Throu cops & harmeȝ his glave is gane
Throw cors & harnes his glawe is gain

Sere hethownis he slew throu hard feyttyng
hard] *om.*

And of ierlm̄ a ȝeir was kyng.
twa ȝere

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VIII. CHARLEMAGNE.

43-48 *Charles of France slew Agoment,*
And wan Spane to his commandement,
And *slew the* duke *of Pauy,*
And wan the Saxones halely,
Throw great *battell and hard fechting*
That thay war all at his bidding ;
And quhair God deit for our sauetie,
He put the haill christintie

=Charlemainne, qui France [*v.r.* de France] ot toute en son conmant,
Suspedita Espaingne, dont morut Agoulant,
Desyer de Pavie toli son tenement,
Et sourmonta les Saisnes si tres parfaitemant
Par maint cruel assaut, par maint tournoiemant,
Qu'il furent malgré euls a son conmandement ;
El lieu ou Dieu morut pour nostre sauvement
Remist il le baptesme et le saint sacrement.
(B. A. IV. 9993-10,000).

45 The *Sowdane* of Surrye assemblez his knyghtes
(M. A. (Perry) 590).
Arthur's knights, being sent to the Emperor [Lucius],
"Saw hyme and *the Sowdane,* and senatours many"
(*Ibid.* 1295).

IX. GODEFROI DE BOUILLON.

50-56 *Godefray the Bullony* throw cheualry
Into the plane of Romany
Wincust the michty *Salamant,*
And, before Antioche, Corborant,
Quhen the King Sardanus was slane ;
Than *was he King,* him-self allane,
Of Ierusalem syne *ane ȝeir* and mare

=Godefroi de Buillon, qui par son hardement
Es plains de Ronmenie desconfist Solimant
Et, devant Anthioce, l'amiral Corbarant [*v.r.* Corborant]
Le jour que on occist le filz au roy Soudant ;
De Jherusalem ot puis le coronnement
Et en fu roys clamés .j. an tant seulement.
(B. A. IV. 10,003-9).

51 . . . the king sic strak (MS. E swak] him gaiff
That he the hede till harnys claif (Br. V. 643).
For quhar thai with *full strak* mycht hit,
Thair mycht no armyng stynt thar *strak*
(Br. XIII. 144)
[Throw helm and coyphe and bacynet
The swerd goth forth (Ferumbr. 5577)].

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X.

Robert ye brois throu hard feichyng
throw harde fechyng

Wyt few venkust ye mytchy kyng
wincoust

Off Ingland edward twyse in fyt
ye secund in (feill : *erased*) fyt

At occupit his realme but ryt
Yt occupyt his rome

At sumtyme wes set so hard.
And sum tym was

At hat not sax till hym toward.
That he had ; *till*] to.

3e gude meñ yat yir ballete redis
The last two lines are inset in Law
Gud men at yir ballatte Redde

Deme quha dochtyast was in dedis.
Deim quha hard dowchtyest was in deide

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X. Robert the Bruce.

56

[The Machabeys] *with few* folk thai had wictory
Off *mychty kingis*, as sayis the story
(Br. I. 473).

How the gud Douglass . . .
Wencust sa feyll *with few* menȝe
(Br. VIII. 116).

Quhen schir Edward, the mychty king, &c.
(Br. I. 179).

58

How that he [Edward I.] all the senyhowry,
Throw his gret mycht, suld *occupy*
(Br. I. 151).

59

Defendit him with all his mycht,
That than *wes set so hard*, I hicht,
That, &c.
(Br. X. 720).

61

For aulde storys *that men redys*
Representis to thaim *the dedys*
Of stalwart folk that lywyt ar
(Br. I. 17).

Full feill that *war douchty off deid*
(Br. II. 231).

62

Now demys quhethir mair lovyng
Suld Tedeus haf or the king!
(Br. VI. 282).

Zhe that [*this*] *redis* iugis ȝhe
Quhethir that mair suld presit be . . .
(Br. VI. 270).

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§ 31. Composition of the 'Ballet.'

The evidence collected above shows conclusively [1] that some one, after making of 'Les Vœux' the translation which we call the 'Buik of Alexander,' reduced the most famous and striking passage in the French poem to ballad form, introducing only such changes as are inevitable when 113 lines (B. A. IV. 9897-10,009) are condensed into nine six-line stanzas. To these nine he added a tenth. Two stanzas are of his own composition.

Closely as he followed his own literal translation of the French, he yet forsook it in the stanza on Arthur, whose exploits had been restricted in 'Les Vœux' to combats with giants, and he introduced new matter—the Conquests of Arthur and how he slew Lucius and Frollo. Of this new matter the ultimate source is Geoffrey of Monmouth, who in his 'Historia regum Britanniæ' (before 1139) had created the figure of Arthur, to which the 'Historia' largely owed its universal popularity. Geoffrey's tale of the giant Ritho, who had made a gar-

[1] Both 'Ballet' and 'Buik' contain two lines unaccounted for in the many MSS. of 'Les Vœux du Paon'—viz., l. 3 (with the phrase, unrecorded elsewhere, "in half-thrid ȝeris") and l. 5; they have in common ll. 7, 9, and 43-8; they employ the same vocabulary except "variance" and "gouernance," riming in ll. 11-12, which are forms unknown to the 'Buik.' They both mistranslate *Desyer* (as if it were not a proper name, but *Du sire*), the 'Ballet' by "sowden," the 'Buik' by "duke." They differ as to the number of the kings slain by Joshua—twelve in the 'Buik' (and in the 'Bruce'), thirty-one in the 'Ballet' (and the Bible),—but in the French MSS. also the number is twelve or thirty-one, according to the extent of the scribe's biblical lore: 'Joshua,' xii. 24, "Omnes reges *triginta unus*." The 'Ballet' is, in short, separated from the 'Buik' only by the fact of condensation—*i.e.*, some of the corresponding lines of the 'Buik' are omitted, others transposed, others altered; whenever possible, they are carried over intact. That the 'Buik's' literal rendering can scarcely have been adapted to ballad form by any one else than the translator is shown by the fact that of the lines in the 'Ballet' which differ from those in the 'Buik' several agree with the French text—*e.g.*, "arab" (l. 15) and "Eqwethir" (l. 10) = Encore.

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ment from the beards of kings he had slain, was well known in France, where Arthur was always much more the beau ideal of chivalry than the conqueror of many lands, and it had descended from the 'Historia' to 'Les Vœux du Paon.' But Geoffrey deals also with other aspects of Arthur's career more interesting to British minds. Before all the chroniclers, Geoffrey tells how Arthur subdued England, Scotland, Norway, Dacia, and Gaul, where he won Paris as the prize of a duel with Frollo, the Roman Governor of that city,[2] and how he slew Lucius Iberius, the Roman procurator, "Reipublicæ procurator" (IX. 15).[3] The phrase in l. 39, "Lucius ye publik procurator," shows that Geoffrey's Latin history is not merely the ultimate, but the direct source of this stanza.

Then the author of the 'Ballet' added a final stanza of his own: Robert the Bruce also was a mighty warrior, so mighty indeed in vanquishing Edward II. and fighting

[2] Geoffrey relates Arthur's conquest of some twelve countries; the 'Morte Arthure' (Thornton MS., ll. 26-47) enumerates thirty, including Geoffrey's twelve; Wyntoun's seventeen were probably selected from the list in the 'Morte Arthure' (see 'Wyntoun,' ed. Amours, note to VIII. 5259-66), to which we should therefore naturally turn as a possible source for Stanza VII. The 'Morte Arthure' would account for "Denmark" and "France," but not for "Spain" or "Dacia"; and though Lucius Iberius plays a leading part in it, it does not include Frollo.

[3] Wyntoun (V. 4271) corrected Huchown, who in his 'Gest Historyall' —*i.e.*, possibly the Thornton version of the 'Morte Arthure' [ed. by Hallewell (1846), Perry (1865), Brock (1871)]—had called Lucius "emperour," whereas he was only "procuratour," the Roman emperor in Arthur's day having been Leo. Dr Brown (*op. cit.*, p. 99) noting that, though the same error occurs in the 'Bruce,' Wyntoun did not correct Barbour, concluded that the passage in the 'Bruce' is an interpolation. If by "the Brwte," which Wyntoun cited in support of his correction, he meant Geoffrey's work, he was quite in error, for Geoffrey refers to Lucius more often as "*imperator*" (where he means "emperor," not "commander") than as "*procurator*" (see F. J. Amours, 'Wynt.' Vol. I., p. 43, note to V 4283; W. M. Mackenzie, 'Br.,' note to I 554). Wace also makes the same error continually—*e.g.*, l. 11360, "Licius Yber . . . empereur"; so also Layamon (see Branscheid, 'Ueber die Quellen des Morte Arthure,' Halle, 1885, pp. 47; p. 8) and the O.F. prose 'Mort Artu' (ed. J. D. Bruce; see F. Lot, 'Étude sur le Lancelot en prose,' 1918, 452 pp.), all copying Geoffrey, no doubt.

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such fearful odds that he may fitly be classed with the Noble Nine. That stanza reveals the purpose for which the 'Ballet' was written—as a eulogy of Robert the Bruce. It follows that our translator was much obsessed by the subject of King Robert. He has not only taken it upon himself to improve Barbour's work on that topic with copious extracts from his complete translation; he now publishes independently a 'Ballet' of his own, extolling to a wider public, in yet more popular form, not Barbour's 'Bruce,' be it noted, but King Robert, and not for literary purposes, but for some loyal, patriotic or political end.

§ 32. Inter-relation of 'Ballet,' 'Buik,' and 'Bruce.'

Then—strangest of all in this strange story—for the yet further decoration of Barbour's 'Bruce' he utilises extracts from his 'Ballet.' Lines 34-36 figure also in the 'Bruce'; line 17 is neither in the French nor in the 'Buik,' but it is in the 'Bruce'; lines 37-42 are not in the French nor yet in the 'Buik'; they have been imported from Geoffrey of Monmouth into the 'Ballet,' and, in fuller form, into the 'Bruce.' [1]

For the composition of his own final stanza he uses phrases suspiciously like others found in the most unimpeachable, unadulterated parts of the pre-1420 'Bruce'—viz., the Prologue and the Wyntoun excerpt, and ekes them out with the prowess of Judas Maccabeus, as related in Stanza VI. of the 'Ballet.' And when in the

[1] The fuller version in the 'Bruce' can only come from Geoffrey of Monmouth. Of the early chroniclers only Geoffrey and Wace give the second element of the name Lucius "Iberius" (Branscheid, p. 8), and the account of Julius Cæsar is different from that given by Wace.

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said pre-1420 'Bruce' Barbour has failed to deal pictorially enough—not this time with Robert but with Edward, Bruce—our translator borrows for Edward the plumes of Judas Maccabeus from Stanza VI. and Hector's nineteen victories from Stanza I., unless perchance he borrows them from his version of these lines in the 'Buik':—

> Thair mycht men cruell bargane se,
> And *hard battall*, I vndirstand.
> In-till [all] the weir of [Irland]
> So *hard ane fechting wes nocht seyne,*
> *The quhethir* of gret victoriss *nynteyne*
> Schir Eduard had, withouten wer,
> *In-till less than in-to thre 3eir;*
> And in syndry battelis off thai
> He vencust tuenty thousand & ma,
> With trappit horss richt to the feit,
> Bot in [all] tymis, he was 3eit
> *Ay ane for V*, quhen lest wes he.[3]
>
> ('Br.' XVI. 176-187)

And in another part of the 'Bruce,' Edward, with his odds of 1 to 30, puts even Judas Maccabeus to shame:—

> Quhar ay for ane thai var thretty . . .
> in that 3eir
> Thretten Castellis with strynth he wan
>
> (IX. 639-71).

When Hector is mentioned in the 'Bruce,' it is in reference to one whose praises should still be sung (I. 405). When Alexander and Julius Cæsar appear there, they are described in the words of the 'Ballet' and the 'Buik.'

[3] Even one of the opponents of Edward Bruce is described in terms of the Nine and numbered off. Sir Giles de Argentine, who was slain attacking Edward's "battle" at Bannockburn, "wes the thrid best knycht, perfay, That men wist liffand in his day" ('Br.' XIII 321); while "Gib Harpar," slain in Ireland, . . . "wes the *douchtyest of deid* That than wes liffand of his stat" (XV 181).

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For Arthur, both 'Buik' and 'Ballet' are deemed inadequate, and resource is had direct to Geoffrey, cited as the 'Broite' ('Br.' I. 560), which is precisely the title quoted in the French ("le brut") as that of the authoritative work on Arthur. The point of interest here is not that Hector, Judas Maccabeus, Alexander, Julius Cæsar, Arthur were known to the alleged Interpolator. The story of Alexander was known in 1375 to "every wight that had discretion," [3] and had been described in so many books before 1425 that Wyntoun [4] omitted it from his, while the names of the others had long been popular among readers of romance.[5] It is that in season and out of season he should bring that knowledge to bear upon the 'Bruce,' and always from one particular angle. The method of application is ever the same, whether the "examples" be the Nine Worthies or others. Over and over again Barbour says, after relating some deed of prowess, that the hero's name should be "lovyt." [6] This is the *raison d'être* of the "examples," and it is that of the 'Bruce' itself, as most explicitly stated by the author in his Prologue. Bruce and Douglas were in danger of being forgotten, and yet their names are such as should be praised.

[3] Chaucer, 'Monkes T.'
[4] (W) IV 1262.
[5] 'Cursor Mundi' [*c.* 1320], 9:

"Men ȝernen iestes for to here
And romaunce, rede in dyverse manere
Of Julius Casar the emperoure,
Of Greke & Troye the longe strif." . . .

Six of the Nine are mentioned in 'Golagros,' *c.* 1450.
[6] *E.g.*, Barbour's excursus on Tydeus from the story of Thebes:

(VI 269) "ȝhe that this redis iugis ȝhe
Quhethir that mair suld presit be." . . .

(and 283) "Now demys, quhethir mair lovyng
Suld Tedeus haf, or the King."

Similarly in comparing the deeds of prowess of Douglas, Edward Bruce, and Sir John de Soulis (XVI 489-534).

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§ 33. That all Three Works are by the same Author, Barbour.

In the 'Ballet' the alleged interpolator, unconvincing enough in Chapter VIII., becomes a monomaniac, still harping on King Robert, intent on "decorating" some one or something at all costs—if not the portrait of Robert, then that of Edward, Bruce—with allusions and snippets of verse—if not from the 'Buik,' then from the 'Ballet,' improving now the 'Bruce' with his own lines, now his own lines with the 'Bruce.' Before such an "interpolator" imagination at length recoils. Why should a disciple first translate a French romance into an admired master's admirable style, and then proceed with the resulting material to improve upon that which *ex hypothesi* was so admirable? And why for this strange purpose should he both borrow and lend the decorative material of his own 'Ballet'? We henceforth dismiss such a one from the realm of reality to that of wild conjecture, and accept for fact what has been becoming clearer and clearer as such in each succeeding chapter—viz., that the 'Bruce' which we possess to-day stands substantially as Barbour wrote it, without copious interpolations by a later hand.

When we find that "Blind Harry," *c.* 1470, describes Douglas in the same terms as Barbour does, likening him to Hector and Alexander,[1] quotes the tale of Gadifer, and alludes to Julius Cæsar, Arthur, Charlemagne, Godefroi de Bouillon, the logical inference cannot be that these references were introduced between 1470 and 1487

[1] See *supra*, § 23, *n.* 7.

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from the 'Wallace' into the present text of the 'Bruce,' as Dr Brown would have us believe, but surely that they were introduced by Barbour himself, and borrowed by "Blind Harry" from Barbour.

Relieved at last of the nightmare complications raised by assuming the existence of a fifteenth-century redactor, we emerge into a serener air. This continual utilisation of the same subject-matter, these constant reminiscences, repeated allusions and pet phrases, these cross-references from each of the three works, are incredible on the part of a redactor, but they are possible enough on the part of an author. They are his cherished themes and formulas. Barbour not only knew the two Romances in their original French, as several allusions to their subject-matter prove; he translated them, and he translated them, as close verbal agreements show, in his own peculiar style. He also composed the 'Ballet' and the 'Bruce'—in his own style; and when in the composition of the 'Bruce' matter ran short or inspiration failed, his memory supplied him with illustrations from the 'Buik.'

CHAPTER X.: BARBOUR HIS OWN INTERPOLATOR.

§ 34. This Hypothesis Confirmed.

On that hypothesis, the difficulties vanish as at the wave of a magic wand. Two alone linger obstinately on the scene: the printed statement of date, and a few dis-

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crepancies in the vocabulary. How the date of the 'Buik' came to be printed as 1438 we do not profess to explain, the possibilities being unlimited,[1] and merely remark that a statement may be printed, by a more accurate printer than poor Arbuthnet, in fairer type than his—and be untrue.[2] That some words and phrases should be found in the 'Bruce' but not in the 'Buik,' and *vice versa*, is not surprising. In two works by one author on one subject discrepancies in the vocabulary used are not uncommon;[3] they become frequent when the subject differs, and yet more frequent when one of the works is original composition and the other is translation from French. If in the warlike 'Fuerres' and Jacques de Longuyon's pleasing tale there is nothing about "bailȝeis," "borch," &c. (see § 26), neither shall there be anything in the faithful Scottish rendering thereof. Expressions appropriate in a life of Scottish worthies may not always be those suitable for describing the combats at "Gadres" or the pastimes of the nobility in Lorraine. How many of the remaining discrepancies are due to the scribes or to the printer we cannot say, since the MS. history of

[1] Scribal error? Scribal improvement (the years that had elapsed since "the tyme that God was borne" being more numerous in 1438, when the original MS. may, or may not, have been copied)? Misreading, by scribe or printer, of "thre scoyr" [*e.g.*, Wynt. (C) VIII 7206] as "threttie"? Wrong decipherment, by scribe or printer, of Roman numerals, iii as iv, lx as xx? Printer's error, careless, excusable, inexcusable, explicable, inexplicable (it would not be the only one since Gutenberg, and there is no "copy" to examine)? It serves no purpose to enumerate the possible explanations, or to estimate their degrees of plausibility.

[2] To take the example nearest home, the reprint of the 'Buik' dated 1831 did not appear in 1831 (see *supra*, § 3).

[3] Even in different parts of the same work. Nothing is more curious in the early writers than the way in which a word or phrase suddenly appears at page *x* (having then come to mind, or been suggested by recent reading), recurs with some persistence till page *y*, and then is seen no more. Wyntoun's practice in this matter (in the original part of his "Original" of course) would make an interesting study.

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both texts is unknown; but they are not numerous, and they fade into insignificance before the overwhelming mass of similarities, collected under "Language" in Chapter XIII.

The hypothesis of common authorship is confirmed, firstly, by an examination of the "examples" in the remainder of the 'Bruce'; and secondly, by all that we know of Barbour from external sources:—

§ 35. The other "Examples" in the 'Bruce.'

Barbour is fond of illustrating his narrative with "exempla," moral reflections, and exclamations, in which respect the 'Bruce' is exactly like the prose chronicles, notably Geoffrey le Baker's 'Vita Edwardi Secundi' and Bower's version of Fordun. The first idea that occurs to him or to his characters [1] in presence of some great deed of prowess is to quote an analogous case, whether literary or historical. When the Lord of Lorne likens Bruce to Gaul MacMorna, Barbour observes that a fitter, because "mar manerlik," comparison would have been with 'Gaudifer de Laryss'; and so indeed it would, had John of Lorne been as familiar with 'Li Fuerres' as was John Barbour, who there and then supplies an abstract and brief chronicle of that Romance.[2] But he gathers illustrations also from a wider field: from the

[1] *E.g.*, "A baroune Maknauchtan" says:

"Ik hard neuir, in sang na ryme,
Tell off ane man that," &c.
(III 178); cp. also III 203 and VI 177.

[2] III 72-92. Gaul MacMorna's combat with Fingal took place at Dalry, 11th August 1306, according to Fordun. He is a well-known figure in later Scottish Literature; see Skeat's note *ad loc.*

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preceding part of the 'Roman d'Alixandre';[3] from the tale of Troy,[4] told first in Benoît de Sainte-More's 'Roman de Troie,' and then in the plagiarised Latin version thereof (1287) by Guido delle Colonne, who, covering up his traces, quoted as his sources 'Dares' and 'Dictys,'[5] and obtained for them the credence denied by the Middle Ages to Homer, who had made gods fight with men, which is impossible; of Thebes, told (probably by Benoît also) in the 'Roman de Thèbes,'[6] and by Lydgate, *c.* 1420; of 'Ferumbras,'[7] which figures in a bequest by the Earl of Warwick in 1361,[8] and was well enough known to merit translation *c.* 1380, and which, presumably in the original French, the Bruce could read in 1306 to his followers on

[3] "I herd neuir quhar in ane land,
Wes castell tane so hardely,
[*i.e.*, as Edinburgh Castle by Randolf],
Outakyn Tyre all anerly;
Quhen Alexander the conquerour,
That conquerit Babilonys tour,
Lap fra a berfroiss on the wall,"
&c. ('Br.' X 703-34)

= "Quar del befroi u est de si haut, com il fu,
Est salis en la vile, en son col son escu"
('Roman d'Alixandre,' ed. Michelant, 217, 23).

It was during this Siege of Tyre that the 'Foray' took place. For the expression "Babilonys tour," cp.:

"Ce fu cil ki *la tour de Babilone* prist"
(P. Meyer, 'Al.' II, p. 246).

[4] I 521-6.

[5] "As Dares in his buk he wrate
And Dytis, that knew all thar stat"
(I 525).

Guido, whether in the Latin text or in a French version, is the original of the 'Troy-Book,' often attributed to Barbour, as of the 'Gest Historiale' of the Destruction of Troy (? originally Scottish, *c.* 1350-1400), and the 'Laud Troy-Book' (? composed N.W. Midland, *c.* 1400).

[6] II 528-47 and VI 179-284.

[7] See *infra*, § 42, *n.* 5.

[8] Guy de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, left to Bordesley Abbey in 1361, "touz les Romaunces desouz només . . . Un Volum del Romaunce de Amase e de Idoine . . . Un Volum de la mort ly Roy Arthur e de Mordret . . . Un Volum del Romaunce d'Alisaundre, ove peintures . . . Un Volum del Romaunce des Mareschaus e de Ferebras e de Alisaundre." Henry J. Todd, 'Illustrations of Gower and Chaucer' (Rivington) 1810, pp. xlvii + 394, p. 161.

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Loch Lomond, with as little poetic licence as Wolfe in similar fashion could hearten his on the St Lawrence.[9]

History is the source of further "examples": the Maccabees, who, "as men in the bibill seys," delivered their country from a foreign oppressor, even as did the Bruce and Douglas[10]; Fabricius, who, like Douglas, preferred "lawte" to "tresoune," and who refused to slay Pyrrhus by poison.[11] Scipio, who from defeat raised Rome to victory,[12] and Julius Cæsar, who would never rest, thinking he had done nothing so long as something yet remained to be done,[13] were the bright examples quoted by the Bruce to his despondent followers in the darkest days after Methven. 'History' more recent supplies the rest: Thomas of Ercildoune and his prophecies;[14] a war between the French and the Flemings,

[9] "The King, the quhilis, meryly
Red to thaim, that war him by,
Romanys off worthi Ferambrace . . ."

. . . And how Charlemagne . . .

". . . wan the naylis and the sper,
And the croune that Iesu couth ber."
(III 435-66).

[10] I 465-72.

[11] XX 521.

[12] III 207-48. The story is more fully told in Wyntoun, who follows Martinus Polonus and Orosius and expressly names them as his sources. There are some remarkable similarities of expression between Barbour and Wyntoun—*e.g.*, in the inversion in the first lines:

For Rome quhilum sa hard wes stad,	*Off golde ryngis*, fayr and bricht,
Quhen Hanniball thaim wencusyt had,	*Tane of thar fyngeris* in that feycht
That, *off ryngis* with rich stane,	Was slayne, *thre bollis* stape met
That war *off knychtis fyngerys tane*,	This Hannybal withe outtyn let
He send thre bollis to Cartage,	*To Cartage gert in hy be sende*
And syne to Rome tuk his wiage ('Br.' III 207-12).	Qwhen this iournay had tane ende (C IV 1553-8).

These might be coincidences of expression, always possible when two authors are describing the same facts in the same metre, or they might be reminiscences of Barbour in Wyntoun.

[13] III 277-84. "As men may *in his story* se" (284).

[14] 'Br.' II 86.

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affecting Earl Ferrand, whose mother was "ane nigramansour,"[15] and whose own lurid fate was notorious in Scotland, for he figures among old-world tales too rapidly fading away in 1549 as "Ferrand erl of Flanderis that mareit the deuyl";[16] Count Robert of Artois, who, as Douglas in his youth, would feign profligacy and ensue wisdom.[17] And to these modern instances Barbour adds a rich fund of wise saws, anecdote and fable, such as 'The Fox and the Fisher,'[18] together with the customary mediæval reflections on human affairs.[19]

Of all these decorative passages the only one ever

[15] 'Br.' IV 240-86. This is Ferrand, son of Sancho I. of Portugal, and, by his wife, Count of Flanders. Defeated and captured by Philip Augustus at Bouvines, 27th July 1214, he was sent in chains to the Louvre. He incurred great odium as a treacherous enemy, and his ignominious imprisonment was the occasion of the contemporary scurrilous verse in which the obvious witticisms "enferré," "enfer," &c., are made on his name, and some of which is preserved in Guillaume Guiart's 'Branche des Royaux Lignages,' composed in 1306—*e.g.*, 7108:

"Lors fu Ferrant tout enferré,
En la tour du Louvre enserré."

The pun on "enfer" must be the origin of his legendary dealings with the Devil, on which see *infra*, § 37, *n.* 8.

[16] 'Complaynt of Scotlande,' VI, p. 63. The list of tales, songs, and dances quoted therein, pp. lxxiii-xci, includes, with "Ferrand," "The tayle of the brig of the mantribil," "The prophesyie of merlyne," and "The bruce," which, moreover, is quoted textually on p. 95, repeating 'Br.' I 100-105. Ferrand appears in "Morte Arthure" 2760:

"One sir Feraunt before, upon a fayre stede,
Was fosterde in Famacoste, the fend was his fadyre."
M. A. 2760.

There is a reference in Bower to the diabolical origins of Edward I.; 'Scotichron.' (1759), p. 238:

"Hic rex Eadwardus dicitur decimus tertius ab illo Galfrido comite Andegaviae, qui desponsavit sibi diabolam humanâ carne velatam."

It is also in connection with Edward I. that Barbour makes his allusion to "Ferrand," and there seems little doubt that Barbour helped to spread in Scotland the fame of Ferrand, which appears to have surpassed even that of the legendary Count of Anjou.

[17] 'Br.' I 339-44. The "gud Erle off Artayis Robert" (where "gud" means "late") is clearly not the thirteenth century personage [*d.* 1302] but the notorious Robert (see *supra*, § 9, *n.* 12) [*d.* 1342].

[18] 'Br.' XIX 649.

[19] *E.g.*, Fortune's Wheel reverses, and Edward II. goes down, while Bruce goes up ('Br.' XIII 629-60); the military importance of personal courage in a leader (IX 62-100), &c.

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shown to differ from the language of the narrative is that describing the casting of the Heart before Douglas in battle (see *supra*, § 17, *n.* 4). It is spurious. But it is not in either MS., merely in Hart's printed edition of 1611, and the authenticity of fifteenth-century MSS. cannot be called in question because of what a seventeenth-century printer may think fit to add.

§ 36. The Historical Barbour's Knowledge of French.

Surely in all these "examples" there is nothing that was beyond the powers of the simple-minded man of letters who from about 1356 to 1395 was Archdeacon of Aberdeen. The historical Barbour, he of the records and charters, knew Latin, not perhaps quite so well as Professor Skeat believed,[1] but well enough to be an arch-

[1] The author of the 'Bruce' quotes the three lines of the 'Versus Belli de Bosbek' (see *infra*, § 37, *n.* 8), and expounds them in a long-winded, embarrassed way which does not suggest the accomplished Latinist. He knew, as every prologue-writer did (see *supra*, § 14, *n.* 1), one of Dionysius Cato's apophthegms:

> "And Catone sayis ws, in his wryt,
> To fenyhe foly quhile is wyt" ('Br.' I 343).

But it is time to protest when Skeat (ed. 'Br.' III, p. lix) describes as quotations from Vergil and Lucan commonplaces which imply, at the very most, knowledge of most ancient and threadbare tags. Skeat's four examples (of which the first two seem extremely far-fetched) are:

> "For luff is off sa mekill mycht,
> That it all paynys makis lycht" (II 520)
> =Omnia uincit amor ('Ecl.' X 69). [The author of the 'Scalacronica,' a soldier, not a Virgilian scholar, says, in his peroration, p. 203, of David II. and Margaret Logie, "cest matrimoigne fust fait soulement per force *d'amours, qe touts veint.*"]
>
> "For quhen men oucht at liking ar,
> To tell off paynys passyt by
> Plesys to heryng wonderly
> And to reherss thar auld disese
> Dois thaim oft-syss confort and ese" (III 560
> = olim meminisse juvabit ('Æn.' I 203).

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deacon, and discharge the duties of that office with some distinction. That he knew French much better is highly probable, and that he knew it well is beyond a doubt. He would have been a sorry archdeacon if he did not. Like his heroes in their mortal life, he spoke French. The records reveal him as a man of the world, associating with diplomats who made treaties with the King of France, secretaries to great lords, scholars who had spent long years at the French Universities—as a man fit presumably to converse not in Latin only, which was useless outside the clerical class,[2] but in what was throughout the fourteenth century the polite tongue of the governing, the administrative and the literary classes in Scotland as in England,[3] the language in which they read the

"For veriour na fors suld ma,
Quhethir he mycht ourcum his fa
Throu strynth, or throu sutelte;
Bot at gud faith ay haldin be" (V 85)
= dolus, an uirtus, quis in hoste requirat ('Æn.' II 390)
[which is quoted by Bower, xiii, p. 209].

"That hym thocht he had doyne rycht nocht,
Ay quhill to do him levyt ocht" (III 281)
= Nil actum credens dum quid superesset agendum.
(Lucan, 'Pharsalia,' II 657).

[2] Rashdall, *op. cit.*, II, ii, p. 596.

[3] Douglas spent two years of his youth in France, according to Barbour, who also sends Sir John Stewart to Montpelier, which seems a long way to go for the tending of a spear-wound received with Edward Bruce in Ireland ('Br.' XV. 83). Bruce wrote in French; one of his letters, to Henry de Sully, is preserved (F. Michel, 'Les Écossais en France,' I, p. 53): his interviews with Edward I. were conducted in French (Wyntoun VIII., 1925). Their friends and their adversaries alike were French-speaking. Both Bruces and Comyns appear as authors of letters in Professor Tanquerey's 'Recueil de Lettres Anglo-Françaises' (Champion, 1916). It was in French that the Scottish nobility negotiated at Norham in 1291 and corresponded with Edward I., and that John of Lorn wrote to Edward II. (Bain, 'Edw.,' p. 62). Barbour's own contemporaries, David II., Queen Joanna, Sir Thomas Gray, presumably spoke little else. As late as 1394, Scottish nobles were still writing French, and some of their correspondence is extant, and in 1400 the Earl of Dunbar in a letter to the King of England excused himself for not using French, and yet signed himself 'Le Count de la Marche Descoce' (see Cosmo Innes, ed. 'Bruce,' p. xviii, and F. Michel, 'Critical Inquiry into the Scottish Language' (Blackwood, 1882), p. 15, *n.* 1).

In so far as it is possible to argue from England to Scotland, the use

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Bible,[4] the language of his brother archdeacons in England,[5] and the language of the law—as a man selected, as early as 1357, to deliberate on the terms of a peace treaty couched in French,[6] and in later life travelling readily to France[7]—as a prominent[8] ecclesiastical functionary and one of the great officers of State.[9]

Most writers who have dealt with Barbour have classed

of French must have been prevalent in Barbour's entourage. Freeman, to whom this is a very painful subject, has much difficulty in showing ('Norm. Conq.,' V, p. 535 and pp. 889-93) that the first three Edwards *also* knew some English. In any case, they could not have spoken English to their brides. Edward I.'s furious outburst against Balliol (1296) is quoted in the original French by Wyntoun (VIII, 1661). The 700 extant letters written by Edward II. (1304-5) are all in French, whether the French poem which he wrote in captivity be authentic or not (see Mary Bateson, 'Mediæval England' (Unwin, 1903), pp. xxvii + 448; p. 299). The supersession of French as the medium of instruction in English schools was ascribed in 1385 by Trevisa (who was at Oxford, 1362-5, at the same time as Barbour) to the reforms instituted after the Black Death of 1349 by 'Iohan Cornwall mayster of gramere' (W. H. Stevenson, in the 'Furnivall Miscellany,' p. 421); others take as the critical date 1362, when English displaced French in the higher law-courts. When Queen's [Philippa's] College, Oxford, was founded in 1340-1—it was one of the six that existed in Barbour's Oxford days—it was provided that scholars might talk French instead of Latin at table (Rashdall, *o.c.*, II, p. ii, pp. 495-6). When Aymer de Pembroke's French widow founded Pembroke College, Cambridge, in 1347, a preference was given to Frenchmen over Englishmen in all appointments to the foundation (Tout, 'France and England,' Manchester Univ. Press, 1922, pp. viii + 168; p. 122). In 1356 a Bishop's visitation in Cornwall was conducted in French, English and Cornish (J. Loth, 'Contribution à l'Étude des Romans de la Table ronde,' 1912, p. 71).

Wills were made in French when they were not made in Latin. The earliest French wills date from 1347, the earliest English wills from 1383 (J. Vising, 'Anglo-Norman Language and Literature,' Cambridge Univ. Press, 1923, p. 24). The use of French in Scotland in later times may not be apposite, being perhaps due to the famous alliance. In 1498 Don Pedro de Ayala reports that French education was prevalent and French was generally spoken. (Edgar, 'Hist. Sc. Education' (1893), p. 301.)

[4] Many copies were written and illuminated in France for the English nobility. This was in fact one of the chief points made by Wycliffe. If the Bible might be read in French, why not in English? See Trevelyan, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

[5] Among the Archdeacons in English dioceses the proportion of aliens, nearly all French, was at this time one to three. Ibid., p. 107.

[6] See *infra*, § 40, *n.* 1.

[7] See *infra*, §§ 42 and 44.

[8] "Maystere Ihon Barbere, off Abbyrdene
Archeden, as mony has sene" (Wyntoun VIII 978).

[9] As Auditor of Exchequer in 1372 and Clerk of Audit from 1373.

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him, rather crudely, with the "Aberdonians" and the "ecclesiastics," and that is partly why his authorship of the 'Buik' has seemed unlikely. But clearly he was neither, in the popular acceptation of these terms. If we must needs have a modern instance, he represents a well-known type of humanity, the travelled Scot. His outlook is not provincial. He had been to Oxford and Paris, and lived no doubt in other homes of learning. His language shows few local peculiarities; spoken or written, it was the fourteenth-century equivalent of what a recent German investigator has termed "polite Scotch," and differed little from that of his fellow-courtiers when in his later years he frequented the capital [Perth], and enjoyed the favour of Robert II. Neither was he "an ecclesiastic": he was an archdeacon—*i.e.*, usually, as we shall show in our next chapter, a French-trained administrator and judge, in minor orders, and, *mutatis mutandis*, not much more of "an ecclesiastic" than the modern Sheriff-Substitute—let us say, Sir Walter Scott.

§ 37. The Trail of French Romance in the 'Bruce.'

Stripping the 'Bruce' for the moment of all that has been, and of all that might ever be, suspected of coming from the 'Buik of Alexander,' we are still left with what is in form and technique a French metrical Romance, imbued with the spirit of the Old French Epic,[1] marked by a singularly free use of French terms, many of them

[1] *E.g.*, the "outrageouss succudry" which brings heroes to their ruin as frequently in the French Epic as ὕβρις in the Greek.

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rare and some not found even in the Frenchified 'Buik,'[2] subtly pervaded by French idiom and French syntax,[3] quoting French,[4] and containing comparisons drawn from French history and works of French literature with which the 'Buik' has nothing whatever to do—in brief, a poem manifestly composed by an archdeacon steeped in French Romance. That the historical personage who wrote (at the very least, as all freely admit) the greater part of our 'Bruce' had been engaged on Romance before he took to Biography is suggested by his Prologue, which betrays an author hitherto interested in stories "delitabill" enough, though only "fabill," and now turning to those that are "suthfast" and would be therefore preferable if only they could be told as pleasantly as in a Romance. He throws out an interesting suggestion on the possibilities of Edward Bruce as a subject, not for one but for many Romances,* and his own dual capacity—ecclesiastical lawyer, personally concerned with all cases of breach of sanctuary, and inveterate Romance reader—is broadly

[2] *a-pane*="scarcely," *appurvey*="to provide a leader with men," *astrolog, boy sb²*="fetter," *dour, engaigne, enherd, rebaldaill;* the last is the technical French term, used no doubt by those who actually took part in the fighting—*e.g.*, Jean le Bel, who served in the campaign of 1327, and says (*op. cit.*, I, p. 54), "ilz sont tous a cheval, ungs et aultres, fors mis *la ribaudaille* qui les sieut a pyé." 'Scalacronica' continually uses the French prototypes of Barbour's military terms—*e.g.*, p. 130, 'la riote' (see "Riot" in our Glossary), p. 145, "les punyes et les faitz de armys." The French legal documents presented in the case, Bruce *versus* Balliol and others, provide Barbour with his phrases in the Wyntoun excerpt—*e.g.*, "en la dreyte lyne descendant" (Palgrave) "in lyne evyn descendand."

[3] See infra, § 53, where examples are collected. It should be observed that the M.E. texts from which we have quoted most of our parallels to the 'Bruce' are themselves translations from French; see *e.g.*, on some of them, H. Creek, 'Engl. Studien,' XLVIII (1914-15), p. 195.

[4] The taking of Edinburgh Castle is foretold by a picture of a castle and a ladder, with the legend "Gardez-vous de François!"

* "Of his hye vorschipe and manheid
Man mycht mony romanys mak" (IX 491).

Gray in 'Scalacronica,' p. 143, makes a similar remark about Edward Bruce's "Meruailles d'armys" . . . "qe serroit vne graunt romaunce a rementyuer tout."

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hinted at in his twofold remark on the murder of Comyn,[5] where it may be noted that his interest is divided between the archidiaconal question of "Girth" and the examples afforded by Romance, to the exclusion of a third aspect of the case, the morality of the proceeding! The debatable land between Romance and History was Barbour's spiritual, almost his professional, home, and that of many another early genealogist, chronicler, compiler, translator, transcriber: shall we say Walter of Oxford, Geoffrey of Monmouth, Henry of Huntingdon, Walter Wardlaw,[6] Robert Thornton, archdeacons all?

The resources of French Romance being at Barbour's command, he was of all men the least likely to deny himself the pleasures of allusion. The habit of digression is ingrained in him, much more than in, say, Wyntoun or "Blind Harry." He discourses at large when quoting no one but himself; "his extreme diffuseness manifests itself not only in his numberless digressions but also in his roundabout way of describing incidents."[7] Barbour had a discursive mind. Muddled exposition, explanation of the self-evident, far-fetched illustration, loose reference, tautology and circumlocution he could well supply, unaided. To identify all the "exempla" in the 'Bruce' would be a difficult task, which is no part of our present duty. But since we happen to be able to show that the local origin of two of them was St Denis,[8] and note that Barbour applied for a safe-conduct to St Denis in 1365 and returned

[5] "He mysdyd thar gretly, but wer,
That gave na gyrth to the awter.
Tharfor sa hard myscheiff him fell,
That ik herd neuir in romanys tell
Off man sa hard sted as wes he,
That eftirwart com to sic bounte" (II 43).

On the legal question of "Girth," highly important in mediæval Scotland, see, *e.g.*, Dowden, 'Bps.,' p. 153.

[6] See *infra*, § 40, *n.* 7.

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[7] W. A. Craigie, *op. cit.*, p. 182, who quotes striking examples: see also *supra*, § 12, *n.* 7. "Barbour's use of the word 'thai' is perfectly reckless." Skeat, *n.* to 'Br.' I, 455.

[8] The source of one "exemplum" we can trace very easily, by the merest chance. In examining the Laing MSS. in the Edinburgh University Library, Miss Borland found two leaves of a MS. which, in collaboration with her, we have shown, in 'Romania' XLII (1913), pp. 1-22, to come probably from the lost work of Jehan de Prunai. The two leaves contain a hitherto unknown French verse translation of the Latin prose chronicle of Guillaume le Breton (*b.* between 1159 and 1169, *d.* 1216), which he wrote between 1216 and 1220, and which he afterwards used as a canvas for his Latin poem on Philip Augustus, composed 1220-26. The poem attained celebrity, but the prose work, utilised by Jehan de Prunai and in the Grandes Chroniques de Saint-Denis, was otherwise little known till the sixteenth century, and it was referred to as "Historia Sancti Dionysi." Beginning with Hector of Troy, the author devotes himself to the reign of Philip Augustus, his contemporary, on which he is a first-hand authority using no known "sources." The story of Ferrand (see *supra*, § 35, *n.* 15), which Barbour reproduces, 'Br.' IV 237-306, together with Guillaume's reflections, occurs in the prose chronicle, ed. H. F. Delaborde, 'Soc. de l'Hist. de France,' 1882-85, Vol. i., pp. 295-96:

> "Sicut etiam fame loquacitate cognovimus, ipsa vetula comitissa Flandriæ, Hispana genere, matertera ipsius Ferrandi, filia regis Portugalensis . . . prestigiis et sortilegiis eventus belli scire desiderans, ab angelis qui hujusmodi modi artibus presunt, secundum morem Hispanorum tale meruerat habuisse responsum: 'Pugnabitur, et in ipsa pugna rex prosternetur in terram, et equorum pedibus conculcabitur, et carebit sepultura. Ferrandus post victoriam cum maxima pompa a Parisianis recipietur.' Hec omnia recte intelligente possunt interpretari in verum. Consuetudo enim demonis est semper talibus qui eum colunt amphibologice loqui, eorum desideria palliata veritate involvens, ut suos semper cultores decipiat, et ut ipsi de se bona semper credant dici que Deus ad eorum confusionem et aliorum honorem fieri disponit. Unde illud:
>
> Cresus perdet Alim transgressus maxima regna,
>
> Et Juvenalis:
>
> Et semel ambiguo deceptus Apolline Cresus . . . omnes ad vitas catervatim ruentes . . . et casu mirabili duo equi ejus coloris qui hoc nomen equis imponit, ipsum in lectica vehebat."

The three Latin lines which Barbour quotes (IV, 249) are not in Guillaume's prose or verse work, and appear to be a later amplification of his word "catervatim," which prompts "magna comitante caterva," and, for rime, "Minerva." The sole source of the story is Guillaume le Breton, whose work was scarcely known elsewhere than at St Denis. Guiart (see § 35, *n.* 15), who quotes him, claims to have written

> "Selonc les certaines croniques. . . .
> Dont j'ai transcrites les memoires
> A Sainct Denys, soir et matin,
> A l'exemplaire du latin," and he does not relate our incident.

It therefore seems not unlikely that Barbour's knowledge of the tale is connected with his visit to St Denis in 1365.

The other "exemplum" is "Ferumbras," whose story originated at St Denis (see *infra*, § 42, *n.* 5). If the relics which are mentioned by Barbour as preserved at St Denis differ from those in the other versions of the poem, may it not be that he is an independent authority on the subject, having seen them for himself?

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"ad partes Francie causa studendi" in 1368, we are entitled now to suggest—and in our next chapter it will be much more than a suggestion—that many of the apparent irrelevances in the 'Bruce,' which have been considered interpolations, are relevant enough to certain recorded circumstances in Barbour's own life.

CHAPTER XI.: BARBOUR AND HIS 'BUIK.'

§ 38. The Archdeacon's Reticence.

In striving to worm out the truth about Barbour and his 'Buik' we need expect little help from the Archdeacon himself. He will offer for inspection his (extant) literary works, and even volunteer a date, but will give no personal details, no mention of author's name or habitation, not even an anagram or cryptic reference, no local allusion. He will not put his name to the 'Buik' or the 'Ballet,' any more than he put it to the 'Bruce,' or than "Blind Harry" put his own—or some one else's—to the 'Wallace.' Autobiography, self-advertisement and literary vanity were not foibles of that impersonal, humble and child-like age when, if an author gave his name, it was that he might be remembered in his readers' orisons. When Barbour has occasion to speak of Aberdeen, which he saw every day of his life, and of neighbouring places well-nigh as familiar, visited and revisited during twenty years' perambulation of his archdeaconry,[1] it will

[1] It was evidently expected that the Archdeacon should spend much of his time in perambulating the Diocese:

"Et quia ad officium archidiaconi spectat provinciam pro corrigendis excessibus circumire statuimus quod ad nullam teneatur residenciam personalem nisi illis diebus quibus ratione officij sui in ecclesia cathedrali vna cum episcopo tenetur personaliter interesse," &c. . . . "Statuta Ecclesie Aberd." in 'Reg. Episc. Aberd.' ii. p. 38.

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be without a glimmer of recognition. The siege of Kildrummy in Mar, or the battle of Old Meldrum in the Garioch, or the harrying of Buchan, will take place in the abstract, almost as bare of precise first-hand topographical lore [2] as the siege of Troy or the combats and forays at "Gadres" in Romance. His portraits will be moral, not concrete, and severely limited to the contrast of "lawte" with "tresoune." [3] The outward physical appearance of Bruce and Douglas, whom probably he had never seen, will be left shadowy and unreal—but not more so than that of Davy and Archibald their sons, whom he most certainly had seen,—and be described in terms of Alexander of Macedon and Hector of Troy, whom he saw more clearly, with the mind's eye, because he read of them in Romance. He was essentially a man of letters. What he found in "books" was real to him. The details which would interest us now the Archdeacon saw not, nor noted down. As the external world was in 1375, so had it always been, and so would it ever be. Wherefore he turns to us a visage of stone, and abides not our idle, modern questionings.

But tarry, Archdeacon! Such reticence carries its own penalty. We are not bereft of reason, and when we are given a detail manifestly unessential to the subject in hand, or a reference to some contemporary born after the War of Independence, we cannot but infer

[2] Inverurie, which is almost within the proverbial twelve-mile radius from Aberdeen (as the crow flies), and lay on Barbour's way to Rayne, is twice mentioned, and as in a "plain," which is vague and not strictly accurate:

"For thair all playn wes the cuntre" ('Br.' IX 57).

"Till Enuerrowry straucht agane:
For thai vald ly in-till the plane" ('Br.' IX 193).

Barbour shows some acquaintance with Kildrummy Castle, but his remarks are vague.

[3] *E.g.*, that of Randolph, Earl of Moray ('Br.' X 280-99).

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that there is good cause for its inclusion in the 'Bruce,' and that thereby hangs a tale. And neither reticence nor modesty evades record and charter. Piecing together the isolated but surprisingly numerous [4] facts which chance has preserved, and interpreting them in relation to the conditions of life prevailing in fourteenth-century Scotland, we can reconstruct the story of the 'Buik' and its author with at least that strong degree of probability which must so often stand for legal proof in the uncertain study of mediæval literature. We have ourselves little doubt that the life of Barbour was somewhat in this wise :—

§ 39. His Unrecorded Youth.

In the romantic Chanonry of Old Aberdeen, when the leafy Aulton lay yet ungraced by twin grey towers and dreaming crown, John Barbour [1] spent his recorded life and composed the works by which he yet lives. The date and the place of his birth and his doings till 1357 are unrecorded. But the attested facts of his career imply that he was born in the closing years of King Robert's reign, possibly about 1325, while the subtle accent of his verse and the subtler accent of his mind leave little doubt that he was an Aberdonian, presumably by birth, certainly by early adoption and grace.[2] His surname suggests a progenitor, not perhaps remote, who combined the art of trimming beards with the then kindred arts of surgery

[4] "More details of Barbour's life are known than of that of any other writer in English, of the period, except Chaucer." J. E. Wells, *op. cit.*, p. 202. A full list of all the records of Barbour will be found in Skeat's 'Bruce,' Part III., pp. xiv-xxviii.

[1] In the contemporary documents, "Barbier" once, "Barbour" occasionally, "Barbere" most commonly. "Barbere" is also Wyntoun's spelling, confirmed by rime. But we retain the accepted spelling.

[2] Dr Jamieson, ed. 'Br.,' p. iii, pointed out that, in a charter by

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David II. to the Carmelite Friars of Aberdeen, 7th May 1360, there is confirmed a charter by Matthew Pinchach, burgess of Aberdeen (dated 31st March 1350), granting to the Carmelite Friars an annuity of 6s. 8d. "de illa terra cum pertinenciis jacente in vico castri quæ fuit quondam Andreæ Barbitonsori inter terram Jaq. Trampour versus austrum et terram Johannis de Salchoo versus boream." He added, without adopting the supposition, that it has been supposed that Andrew was the Archdeacon's father. Dr Neilson, in endeavouring to establish Barbour's claim to the authorship of the 'Legends of the Saints,' made great play (*e.g.*, 'Sc. Antiq.' XI, p. 105) with the fact that a 'Jak trumpour' is brought (à propos de bottes) into the Life of St Ninian, and he concluded that John was not only the son of Andrew Barbour, Jak Trumpour's late neighbour in the Castlegate, but the author of the 'Legends.' But "trumpour" is a trumpeter and Jak duly "trumpit" in 'Ninian' (see *infra*, § 46), and "Barbitonsor" means "barber," not necessarily Barbour. Thus a certain "Milo barbitonsor" is in the list, under the heading "Layci," of those present on 21st May 1345, when the privilege of the University of Paris was confirmed by Philip VI. ('Chartul. Univ. Paris,' II, pp. 563-4), and "barbitonsor" seems to indicate not his surname but his profession, that of surgeon. The same dubiety prevails with regard to the various "barbitonsores" in Robertson's 'Index of Charters,' Edinburgh, 1798. With them there is nothing to connect the Archdeacon, who may, for all that his office would prove to the contrary, have been a "barbitonsor" himself and taken a medical degree, as did his successor in the Archdeaconry, Thomas Trayl, priest, M.A., Bachelor of Medicine ('Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers,' ed. Bliss, R. S., 1896, p. 583).

The name is not uncommon in the fourteenth century: in the first year of the century, a Johannes le Barber "cum ii equis coopertis" appears in the Roll of Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Essex, containing the proffers of service made at the muster at Carlisle (Palgrave, 'Documents,' p. 227). In 1309, a Robert Barbour received a charter from Robert the Bruce of the lands of Craigie in the sheriffdom of Forfar (Jamieson, ed. 'Br.,' p. iii). In the Chamberlain's accounts ending August 1329, one Richard Barber was paid £13, 6s. 8d. for services rendered in connection with the monument, made in Paris, which was placed on the Bruce's tomb at Dunfermline ('Exch. R.,' I, p. cxxii). In 1342 payment is made (Ibid., p. 482) "Roberto barbitonsori ad expensas domus regis, in primo aduentu suo de partibus Francie." This must be the personage who appears again ('Rot. Scot.,' p. 734) as "Robertus Barbour, vallettus regine Scotie," and is granted, on 8th June 1350, a safe-conduct by Edward III. to travel to see David II., then in the Tower of London, "pro quibusdam negotiis ipsum David tangentibus . . . cum tribus equis, garconibus," &c. [For the social status of "vallettus" cp. "Hector Leche vallettus David de Bruys" ('Rot. Scot.,' p. 797), who is referred to (Ibid., p. 724) in a safe-conduct of Edward III., dated 28th Oct. 1348, as "Hector *medicus* David de Bruys"; also in 1359 ('Exch. R.,' II, p. 6). When Chaucer, on 20th June 1367, was granted by Edward III. a pension of 20 marks for life, he was designated "dilectus *vallectus* noster," which probably means "vallettus camere Regis," though he later attained the higher dignity of "vallettus hospicii Regis" ('Engl. Studien,' xlix., 1915-16, p. 147)]. Since "Hector Leche" turns out in 1369 ('Registrum Magni Sigilli,' Vol. i., No. 333) to be a M'Beth, and no doubt one of the hereditary surgeons of that name, "Barbour" was perhaps the profession, not the surname, of the above "Robertus."

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and dentistry. The intimate knowledge of French which he was to evince in later life, as well in the 'Bruce' as in the 'Buik,' implies not necessarily early residence in France or study at the University of Paris, in those days the University for Aberdeen, but early dealings with the Scoto-Norman aristocracy, or with the French-speaking administrative class.

It is unsafe to base any conclusions on the flimsy evidence of a name which may sometimes be a professional designation and sometimes a patronymic, but the appearances are that in his obscurer days he was a scribe, translator, clerk or minor official, possibly in the Government service, or in a noble's household, or at the Court of David II., which for years was resident in Aberdeen, and that he was a relative of one or other of the "Barbours" mentioned above as employed by the Scottish Court. It is perhaps significant that the "fair towme in the queyr" of Dunfermline, which Richard Barber helped to erect in 1329, should not escape attention in the 'Bruce' (XX. 293). Barbour's first appearance in the records in connection with a peace treaty, his markedly "lay" outlook, the whole character of his later official and literary career, the analogous beginnings of other men of letters, including perhaps Chaucer and Lydgate, all suggest the scribe [3] in the immediate entourage of the great.

It is also perhaps significant that the Queen of David II. should, though she made little mark in history, and left Scotland in 1357, and had been dead thirteen years

[3] *I.e.*, a curriculum vitæ somewhat similar to that of a certain "Stephanus de cellario" which we notice in the 'Exch. R.,' II, pp. 52, 114 and 359. In 1360 Stephen receives payment "pro scriptura indenturarum super conuencionem inter dominum nostrum regem et regentem Francie." In 1362 he receives a donation from the King as "transiens versus studia generalia," and in 1370 blossoms forth as "archidiaconus Brechinensis." But, unlike Barbour, he rose higher yet, and was Bishop of Brechin from 1383 till his death, *c.* 1405. Dowden, 'Bps.,' p. 183.

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when Barbour wrote, be accorded fuller honours than any other of his own contemporaries:—

" dame Iohane of the Tour
That syne wes of full gret valour " (Br. XX. 39).

" The ȝoung lady of gret bewte " (88)

" . . . wes syne the best lady
And the farest, that men mycht se " (106).

This is for the uncommunicative Barbour high praise. When we reflect that Chaucer never mentions Queen Philippa or Edward III., and bear in mind that it is to this account, however meagre it may seem to us, that Wyntoun (VIII. 3084) refers readers who would hear about Queen Joanna, and that William Stewart, though given to expanding the 'Bruce,' can only paraphrase it and say, 'Buik of the Chronicles of Scotland,' line 51,376,

" In all her dais she did neuir offence,"

there would seem to be more in the allusion than meets the eye.

Taken in conjunction with other facts, it might almost justify our own belief that Barbour was one of Queen Joanna's very numerous protégés. Both David II. and Joanna took a keen interest in ecclesiastical appointments, and were for ever petitioning the Pope in favour of their kinsmen and courtiers, and we may be quite certain that no important post was filled without their knowledge or consent. Barbour's safe-conduct to Oxford in 1357 was granted by Edward III. at David's personal request, and we shall have occasion later to indicate many possible points of contact between the King and the Archdeacon. Joanna's intervention at Avignon was

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mainly concerned with the interests of her own chaplains, secretaries and clerks, and shows a marked preference for the diocese of Aberdeen as the scene of their future labours, possibly because she had long lived in it herself. Since the election of Archdeacon Alexander de Kyninmund as Bishop of Aberdeen was almost certainly favoured by Joanna, she may also have influenced the choice of John Barbour as his successor in the archdeaconry. His apparently rapid promotion to Archdeacon, but never higher, coincides with the Queen's final departure from Scotland in 1357.[4]

That he spent part of his youth in France is not improbable.[5] In that most dismal period of Scottish history, which, beginning with the death of Robert I. in 1329, outlasted Barbour's allotted span, France was for Scotsmen scarcely a foreign country. It was the Paradise of the soldier of fortune, the haven for fugitives of all ranks. Paris was the Mecca of the schoolman and the clerk, the centre of polite learning and gracious literature. From Avignon, French Popes ruled the Church in Scotland and dispensed preferment, while an ever-growing

[4] The more interesting, for our purposes, of Joanna's Petitions, which were uniformly granted, are: 1345 ('Pet.,' p. 104) for John de Croindale of the diocese of Dunkeld, kinsman to the King of Scots, for the Church of Torrech in the diocese of Aberdeen; 1350 (Dowden, 'Bps.,' p. 113) with Bishop William de Deyn of Aberdeen, for a dignity in the Church of Aberdeen for the Bishop's nephew, William Boyl, scholar of civil law; 1350 ('Pet.,' p. 201) a canonry of Glasgow for John de Ketenis, the Queen's clerk; 1350 ('Pet.,' p. 199) the deanery of Brechin for Alexander de Kyninmond, notwithstanding that he has the hospital of Aberdeen.

[5] We have found no trace of Barbour's name in the records of the University of Paris, where those of so many of his Scottish contemporaries are entered. But for all we know, one of the numerous mentions like "Johannes, Scotus," "Johannes de Conventre, Scotus" ('Chartularium Univ. Paris.,' ed. Denifle & Chatelain, I, p. 367) might be apposite, could we guess what territorial or other designation, if any, Barbour would have supplied when asked by the Registrar. It is worthy of remark that in his second recorded appearance (see *infra*, § 40, *n.* 1) he is merely "Johannes Archidiaconus," and that like David de Mar, his colleague and co-delegate, and Thomas Trayl, his own successor, he may have been a student of Orléans.

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colony of Scottish students in Paris spent their leisure moments in inditing petitions to the Pope.

An outgoing stream of young Scotsmen bent on learning [6] had begun to stem the incoming tide of French ecclesiastics, which would have swamped Scotland as it swamped England, had Scotland seemed a fairer prize to the place-seekers at Avignon. Any advantage which might have accrued by the importation of French culture in this way was often lost, because the French preferred to remain in France and enjoy Scottish revenues there, but large numbers of Frenchmen did make their way north,[7] finding language no barrier, since French was in current use, and Latin was, in clerical circles, a possible makeshift. In the fitful struggle for independence which occupied the Scottish fourteenth century, France was the land of hope.

During seven years of Barbour's youth all loyal hearts were turned to France, for in 1334 the boy King, David Bruce,[8] had been sent with Joanna, his youthful Queen, under the protection of Philip VI., to the safe refuge of Château-Gaillard in Normandy.[9] In a land enduring

[6] David, Bishop of Moray (consecrated 28th June 1299), had founded towards the end of his life some burses for Scottish students in the University of Paris, and thus prepared the way for the Scots College. A. Bellesheim, 'History of the Catholic Church in Scotland,' tr. D. O. Hunter Blair (Blackwood), 1887, 4 vols.

[7] In a single year, 1350, Frenchmen secured appointments to four Scottish canonries. Indeed there is scarcely a year between 1337 and 1375 when the influence of France over the Curia is not disclosed by such appointments. Many of the clergy thus appointed were Frenchmen—*e.g.*, a Frenchman received canonries at Glasgow, Ross, Aberdeen and Dunbar; a prior of the Sorbonne had a living at St Andrews and was made Canon of Moray. Dowden, 'Bps.,' p. 274; MacEwen, *op. cit.*, I, p. 281.

[8] David II., the son of Robert I. by his second wife Elizabeth, daughter of Richard de Burgh, second Earl of Ulster, was born 5th March 1323-4. Joanna, daughter of Edward II. and Isabella, daughter of Philippe (IV.) le Bel, was born in 1321.

[9] David II. embarked on a ship sent by Philip VI., at Dumbarton (Froissart, ed. Lettenhove, II, p. 329, says at Aberdeen), and landed at Boulogne 14th May 1334. Passing through Arras and Bapaume, he reached Paris, where he was welcomed by Philip (Froissart, II, p. 350), to whom he seems to have had every reason to be grateful. Most of his

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the horrors of a disputed succession and falling wholly under English domination, few durst so much as name their rightful King. Only the children, because "thar King wes borne a barne as thai," really believed that he would one day return, and were wont to answer the ironical questionings of the English garrison with the courage of innocence, and sturdily declare "That thai were all King Davyis men." [10] The hopes of that generation of faithful children to which Barbour may have belonged were only partially realised. Davy did return, in 1341, but not for long. He was captured at Neville's Cross in 1346, and held eleven years a prisoner,[11] while Robert the Steward governed a people torn by dissension, steeped in misery which the Black Death only intensified, and tormented by the anxieties of providing a King's ransom which was destined to exhaust the national resources. In 1357 proposals matured for David's release which bring Barbour into the light of history.

seven years' stay in France was spent, not as Froissart says (II, p. 187), at Nemours, but at Château-Gaillard, near Petit-Andely, on the Seine above Rouen, the "saucy castle," "pet daughter" of its builder Richard Cœur-de-Lion, but now a grim, forbidding, colossal ruin. He was present at Buironfosse (Aisne) in 1339, when the assembled chivalry of France, under Philip VI., and of England under Edward III., met, and withdrew without fighting (Le Bel, 'Chron.' I, p. 164). Little else is known of David's doings in France. He was only a young man with a dubious future.

[10] Wyntoun VIII (W) 4073-87, repeated, 'Liber Pluscardensis,' I, p. 275.

[11] Comparatively little is known of David's residence in England. Knighton ('Chronicon,' ed. Lumby, Rolls Series, 1895, II, pp. 44-46) says that he was captured at Merrington and kept in Bamborough Castle pending instructions from Edward III., who was then in France. On 2nd January 1347 he was led a captive through the streets of London and lodged in the Tower (Knighton, *loc. cit.*; Murimuth, Rolls Series, 1889, p. 219), which remained apparently his "official address" (see charters, § 39, *n.* 2). But (partly for obvious political reasons) he was soon treated with the honour due to the King's brother-in-law, and allowed great liberty, spending his time chiefly in or near London and at Odiham in Hampshire, and even returning on parole to Scotland in 1352 (Knighton, II 69). That he was well treated by Edward III. is shown by minor incidents, such as the sending of a pipe of Gascon wine by Edward's butler on St David's Day 1356-7 (Bain, 'Cal.,' III, No. 1627), and by David's frequent return visits after his release (see *infra*, § 43, *n.* 4).

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§ 40. 1357. Archdeacon of Aberdeen.

On 13th September of that year Barbour was nominated by the Bishop of Aberdeen to attend as one of his three procurators-general the meeting called at Edinburgh for 26th September to discuss the terms of the treaty,[1] of which the preliminaries had been settled in August at Berwick. He must then have been Archdeacon of Aberdeen for nearly two years. When he could not, legally, have been under twenty-five, and was not presumably more than thirty-one, he had been raised to the most responsible office in the diocese, next to that of Bishop. Why? Certainly not for services rendered in a Scottish parish.[2] By favour with the new Bishop or the old Chapter? By Court influence? By Papal interest? By sheer personal merit and marked fitness for the office? None of these possibilities can be brushed aside, not even the last, and it may be permissible here to remark that they are not necessarily mutually exclusive. Indeed the absence of details on Barbour's appointment almost warrants the inference that it was made by general consent.[3] Promotion of young men followed inevitably on the ravages made in the ranks of the clergy by the Black Death of 1350.[4] The new Bishop, with whom the appoint-

[1] 1357, Sept. 13: Alexander, Bishop of Aberdeen, appoints "Brechinensem episcopum, ac venerabiles & discretos viros, magistrum David de Mar, domini nostri Papæ capellanum, canonicum, & dominum Johannem archidiaconum nostræ ecclesiæ Aberdonensis, nostros procuratores generales & nuncios speciales" . . . "apud Fetherin Manerium nostrum nostræ diœcesis." (Rymer, 'Foedera,' VI, p. 39.) The text of the treaty, in French, is given 'Rotuli Scotiæ in Turri Londiniensi et in Domo Capitulari Westmonasteriensi Asservati.' Rolls Series, 1834.

[2] "The idea of making a man a Bishop or an Archdeacon on account of his zeal, his energy, and his success in the humble round of parochial

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duty is one which would hardly have occurred to sensible men in mediæval times": Hastings Rashdall, 'The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages,' Vol. ii., Part II, Oxford (Clarendon Press) 1895, p. 698.

[3] The facts which we have been able to ascertain are these: To succeed Bishop John Rate, who died in 1355, having held the see of Aberdeen since 19th Nov. 1350, Alexander de Kyninmund, the Archdeacon, was elected by the Chapter, "concorditer" and "per viam scrutinii," before 4th Dec. 1355, on which day the Pope addresses "Alexander elect of Aberdeen" and "provides" him to the see. Another Alexander de Kyninmund (to whom he was presumably related) had been Bishop of Aberdeen from 1329 to 1344, but that fact can hardly have influenced the election. The name "de Kyninmund" recurs with such frequency in the contemporary registers of the University of Paris that the family must have been a learned and distinguished one, and Hector Boece, who had a keen eye for scandal, makes no suggestion of any. He does, however, relate ('Episcoporum Aberd. Vitæ,' New Spalding Club, pp. 15-16) that "Nicolaus, quidam vir ambitiosus qui ex Gallia cum rege Davide venerat, et ob hoc ei familiarior," having bribed David's courtiers and persuaded David himself to support his candidature for the Bishopric, presented letters to the Chapter, which refused him. A conflict between Crown and Chapter was not uncommon—*e.g.*, Edward III. had petitioned the Pope for the appointment of Robert of Ayleston, Archdeacon of Berks, to the see of St Andrews, and the canons had selected William Bell, Dean of Dunkeld. The see lay vacant for nine years, and was filled in 1343 by the appointment of William de Landel, Parson of Kinkell. Bellesheim, *op. cit.*, ii., § 30. If Boece's story is true, the King's absence as a prisoner in England must have singularly weakened his influence.

To the Archdeaconry, vacated before 4th Dec. 1355, Barbour was appointed, presumably without delay and by the new Bishop. The powers of the Bishop of Aberdeen were unusually extensive, the nomination of all the prebendaries resting with him, except that of the Dean, who was elected by the Chapter. Bellesheim, *op. cit.*, I 372. Court influence was all the more probably a factor, as the Scottish Kings had long claimed the right of presentations to benefices which fell vacant between the death of a Bishop and the taking of the oath of fealty by his successor (Ibid., ii. 19). If David put forward his French favourite Nicolaus for the Bishopric, he or Joanna may also have intervened in the nomination to the Archdeaconry, and with the more chance of success since the second refusal of a Court nominee would be a greater slight, and compensation for the non-election of one protégé by the appointment of another was the custom of the times. Thus, in England it was the recognised practice for the Pope to leave the choice of Bishops to the King, subject to his approval, but reserve for himself the choice of Archdeacons. It was in the distribution of the Archdeaconships that there was the greatest opportunity for the pluralist and the political jobber in England (G. M. Trevelyan, 'England in the Age of Wycliffe,' Longmans, 1906, pp. xiv+380; p. 117); in Scotland, however, capable men, often well versed in civil as well as in canon law, were commonly appointed (John Dowden, 'The Mediæval Church in Scotland,' Glasgow (Maclehose), 1910, pp. xlviii+352; p. 219).

[4] It did not reach Scotland till 1350. Striking figures of the death-roll among the English clergy are given by Cardinal Gasquet, 'The Black Death of 1348 and 1349,' London (G. Bell & Sons), 2nd ed., 1908, pp. xvi+272. On the promotion of young men, *before* the Black Death, Geoffrey le Baker waxes indignant, 'Vita Edw. II.,' p. 252.

As to what might be taken as the normal age for an Archdeacon

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ment primarily lay, was, besides being a man of family and distinction, a protégé of the Queen's, and the Chapter included her secretary David de Mar, and others who in the course of her husband's long absence in England had been brought to her notice as candidates for ecclesiastical preferment. It was a far cry from Avignon to Aberdeen, and Joanna's petitions to the Pope were invariably granted. Alexander, like all the Scottish Bishops of the time, had already been "elected" when the Pope ratified the *fait accompli* and formally "provided" him to the See. It is hard to resist the conclusion that this time there was no need for Joanna to take up her pen once again, because the man clearly marked out for the vacant archdeaconry was, in the opinion of all concerned, John Barbour. His appointment certainly was not made against her will. If she exerted any influence in his favour, it was entirely to her credit and to his. The healthier elements in the country gathered round Joanna, who, Princess of England though she was, proved herself a truer Scottish patriot than many of her adopted countrymen, notably her erring husband David II.

Whatever the reasons for his appointment, the new Archdeacon was by September 1357 a *persona grata*, inspiring some confidence and delegated, with a distinguished Canon of Aberdeen, late Secretary to the Queen of Scots,

appointed in Scotland in 1356, it is impossible to advance any opinion, the date of birth being absent in Bishop Dowden's copious biographies. On the one hand, the office was a responsible one, demanding special qualifications; and on the other hand, we find the Queen pressing the claims of Thomas de Duns, "though *under* nineteen," for a benefice ('Pet.,' p. 134), and all the world has heard of the boy-Archbishop of St Andrews. The only apposite case we can find is that of Walter Wardlaw (*d.* 1387), of whom we know that in 1342 he was a student in Paris, when his age was presumably less than twenty-five. He was a candidate for an archdeaconry in 1349—*i.e.*, æt. 32 or probably less (see *infra*, § 40, *n.* 7).

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and the Bishop of a neighbouring diocese, Chancellor of Scotland, to deal with grave public business.[5]

Some months before, he had applied for a safe-conduct (granted by Edward III. at Westminster on 13th August for one year) to proceed to Oxford with three students in his charge.[6] He had evidently felt the need of a further course of study in the civil, or more probably in the canon, law, and in this he merely followed the common practice, for the universities were thronged with beneficed clerks and

[5] David de Mar, procurator in 1344 of the English Nation at the University of Paris ("magister David de Mair": 'Archiv. f. Litt. und Kirchengeschichte' V, p. 286), and mentioned before then, 21st January 1331, in 'Auctarium Chartularium Univ. Paris,' ed. Denifle & Chatelain, Vol. ii., pp. 367-78: "presentibus ad hec [Johannes Pipe, acting for the Dean of the Faculty of Medicine, appeals against the 'Rector' of the University to the Apostolic See] discretis viris domino David de Mar et domino Johanne de Conventre Scotis, scolaribus Parisiensibus." He appears in 1343 in a Petition to the Pope by Queen Joanna, "on behalf of her secretary David de Marre of the diocese of Aberdeen, M.A., who for four years has studied civil law at Orléans and canon law for some time," for the canonry and pensionary prebend of Aberdeen, void by the promotion of John Rate to the archdeaconry. The petition was duly granted. 'Pet.' (R.S.), p. 15. By 1354, David de Mar was papal chaplain, canon of Aberdeen and Dunkeld, prebendary of Deer, and treasurer of Moray. Ibid., p. 257, and Bain, 'Cal.' III, Nos. 1653 and 1654. He was presumably a relative, possibly the brother, of John de Marr, who in 1359 was Queen Joanna's chaplain, canon and prebendary of Aberdeen, canon of Glasgow and papal chaplain, had been dispensed on account of illegitimacy before 1345 ('Pet.,' p. 85), and was a kinsman of Thomas, Earl of Mar ('Pet.,' pp. 116 and 346).

The Bishop of Brechin was Patrick de Locrys [Leuchars], formerly rector of Tynyngham, "provided" 17th Nov. 1351, resigned 1383. He was Chancellor of Scotland from before 26th Sept. 1357 to between 3rd March 1369-70 and 4th April 1370 (Dowden, 'Bps.,' p. 182), when he was succeeded by John de Carrik.

[6] 1357. Aug. 13: Sciatis quod ad supplicationem David de Bruys suscepimus Johannem Barber, archidiaconum de Abredene, veniendo cum tribus scolaribus in comitiva sua in regnum nostrum Angliæ, causa studendi in universitate Oxoniæ & ibidem actus scolasticos exercendo, morando & exinde in Scotiam ad propria redeundo. 'Rotuli Scotiæ,' pp. 808-9. "Actus scolastici" is a vague term; in a letter by the Pope in 1346 (Rashdall, *op. cit.*, I. 422 *n.*) the phrase occurs: "lectiones, disputationes et alii actus scolastici." Of the six colleges existing in 1357 those with which Barbour might with most probability be associated are Balliol, Oriel and Queen's. Balliol was founded, 1261-66, by Devorguille, daughter of Alan of Galloway (whom Barbour apparently referred to in his lost "Stewarts' Original"; see *infra*, § 46, *n.* 16), and mother of John Balliol; Oriel by Queen Joanna's father in 1326; Queen's was founded in honour of her sister-in-law Philippa, in 1341; see Rashdall, *op. cit.*, II. ii., pp. 497-8.

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dignitaries.[7] Events moved rapidly.[8] By 3rd October the treaty had been signed at Berwick, and by 28th October, Edward III. had authorised all and sundry to proceed without special permission from Scotland to Oxford (or Cambridge).[9]

[7] See Rashdall, *op. cit.*, passim. The Archdeacon of St Andrews (Guillelmus de Grinlaw) attended the University of Paris in 1353. He had been there before, in 1342, as a Canon of Aberdeen. 'Chartul. Univ. Paris,' p. 527. Walter Wardlaw, master of the English nation and "rector" of the University of Paris, figures (ibid., pp. 527, 592, 594, 647) as a student in Paris at the following dates: 1342, as canon of Glasgow; 1346, as tutor, "Item, dominus Johannes de Kynnemont sub magistro Galtero de Wardela" ('Archiv. litt. Kirchengesch.,' V. 306); 23rd Sept. 1349, as candidate for the archdeaconry of Dunkeld; 1357, as still a student. In 1367 he was consecrated Bishop of Glasgow, having before then been a Canon of Aberdeen (Bain, 'Cal.' IV, No. 4), secretary to David II., and (from 1359) Archdeacon of Lothian. In 1369 and 1371 he negotiated peace treaties, and in 1385 was made a Cardinal by Clement VII., antipope.

[8] It is generally assumed, *e.g.*, by Jamieson and Skeat, ed. 'Br.,' and Irving, 'Hist. Sc. P.,' that Barbour did not attend the Edinburgh meeting, but their reasons are unconvincing. Skeat says, quoting Jamieson with approval, that the appointment as procurator was merely complimentary, since "the Bishop could not well omit his own archdeacon" [which would imply that the other bishops selected their archdeacons, whereas the documents preserved (Bain, 'Cal.' III, Nos. 1642-50, &c.) show that they did not]. Skeat points out that the deed provides for the absence of some of the procurators, and he assumes Barbour to have gone to Oxford instead of Edinburgh [which overlooks the fact that a safe-conduct granted at Westminster on 13th August must have been applied for long before that day and received in Aberdeen long after]. Barbour might perfectly well have stopped at Edinburgh on his way to Oxford. If he did not, the reason was—as suggested by Lord Hailes, 'Ann. Scot.,' ii., p. 243, *n.*, and proved by the documents signed by Robert the Steward and letters patent of the Scottish Bishops (both 26th September, Nos. 1649 and 1650 in Bain, 'Cal.' III)—that the form of delegation was laid aside, and it was judged more proper that three of the Bishops themselves should treat with the English envoys at Berwick. Among those to whom Edward III. granted safe-conducts towards the end of the year are "Arcebaldus de Douglas Chivaler et Willielmus de Tours usque Civitates nostras Londoniæ & Cantuariæ, quibusdam certis de causis, cum quatuor equitibus" (Westminster, 16th November [and again 26th January 1358] (Rymer, 'Fœdera,' VI 69), and Queen Joanna, to London "cum Sexaginta Equitibus et tot Garcionibus" (Marlborough, 25th December; ibid., 73). Joanna never returned to Scotland, and died five years later (14th August 1362) near London.

[9] At the request of the Bishops of St Andrews & Brechin: "Concessimus et Licentiam dedimus omnibus & singulis Scolaribus dictæ terræ Scotiæ, qui in Angliam Causa studendi & Actus Scolasticos exercendi in Universitate Oxoniæ sive Cantebrigiæ moraturi venire voluerint." (Rymer, 'Fœd.,' VI 67). Knighton, ii., p. 101, says that David II., on returning to London in 1358, requested Edward III. to grant permission to Scottish students to attend the English Universities.

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Barbour thus was an Archdeacon when the record opens, and Archdeacon he remained until he died. This is at first sight remarkable. To be forty years in that office was, we know, abnormal, the Scottish Bishops being chosen very largely from the ranks of the Archdeacons.[10] But many reasons suggest themselves in addition to that already mentioned—the Queen's absence. He may have married, for there was no lack of precedents. Though his career betokens no distaste for the society of the great, his work is that of a modest man, to whose lips the *nolo episcopari* would spring naturally enough. Moreover, had his ambitions lain in the direction of high preferment in his own diocese, they were doomed to disappointment, because the see of Aberdeen did not fall vacant till 1380, by which time he was too deeply rooted in his own duties. And these duties probably suited Barbour very well indeed.

The somewhat mysterious functions which our irreverent age is content to take as "archidiaconal" were more important when the tribunals of the Church dealt with much of the business of the modern law-courts. It would be unkind to point out the affinity of Barbour's miscellaneous functions[11] to his miscellaneous mind, but we cannot

[10] Among the numerous Archdeacons of Aberdeen who became Bishops, may be noted Alan, who was consecrated Bishop of Caithness, and his successor at Aberdeen in 1342, John de Rate (*d.* 1355), who both succeeded and preceded an "Alexander de Kyninmund, ex-Archdeacon," on becoming Bishop of Aberdeen in 1351. Dowden, 'Bps.,' pp. 113-4. In the other dioceses this was equally common, two of the most interesting cases being the celebrated Walter Wardlaw, who became Bishop of Glasgow (ibid., 31), and Archdeacon Thomas Stewart, a natural son of Robert II., who was elected successor to Bishop Trail (*d.* 1401) of St Andrews, but declined the honour. Bellesheim, *op. cit.*, II 40.

[11] The Archdeacon, ranking next to the Dean in the Aberdeen Chapter, stood between the Bishop and the parish priests. He was the *oculus episcopi*, and possessed considerable powers and influence, augmented by the frequent absence of the Bishop in attendance on the King or on political missions abroad. He examined candidates for orders, and clerks presented to benefices, visited the parish churches to

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help remarking that by the time he came to write his epic they had left their stamp upon him. Not only is he glib with the technical terms ("girth," "exorcization," and the like), but the whole of the 'Bruce,' with its drum-and-trumpet history, its *con amore* descriptions of hard fighting, its lenient view of human failings and sparing mention of Holy Church, is unmistakably the work of one interested in matters secular, of an administrator in close touch with the laity—not of a priest primarily concerned with dogma or ghostly counsel, nor of a narrow Churchman like Wyntoun, who apparently considered the introduction of a new vestment or some trifling innovation in ritual to be milestones in the history of the human race. Professionally engaged as Barbour

inspect the condition of the fabric, furniture, books and *ornamenta*, and had supervision of all the parochial clergy, remonstrating with them, *e.g.*, if they were "enormiter illiterati" or kept concubines. He and his retinue were entitled to entertainment in the manses. Before his tribunal came cases of marriage and divorce, clerical suits for arrears of tithe and other ecclesiastical dues, probate of wills, prosecution of sins punishable by the Church. Like Chaucer's 'Erchdeken'—

> "A man of heigh degree,
> He boldly dide execucioun,
> In punishing of fornicacion,
> Of wicchecraft, and eek of bauderye,
> Of diffamacioun and avoutrye
> Of chirche-reeves and of testaments
> Of contractes" . . .

His subordinates were the official who acted as deputy in his Court when he was absent, and the rural deans or "deans of Christianity," as these were more commonly termed in fourteenth-century Scotland: hence the misnomer (frequent in Wyntoun and later writers) "Archdene" as if "chief of the deans." After the diocesan reorganisation completed in the reign of David I., there were five of these rural deaneries in the diocese of Aberdeen: Mar, Boyne, Buchan, Garioch and Aberdeen. In Scotland an Archdeacon, though rarely popular with the parochial clergy, was apparently less heartily disliked than in England, where more sober historians than Chaucer admit that

> "For smale tythes and for smal offringe,
> He made the peple pitously to singe."

Trevelyan, pp. 111-14; Bellesheim, I 305; Dowden, 'Med. Ch.,' 118, 213, 219; 'Bps.,' 217.

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was in matters administrative and judicial, not theological or spiritual, his learned ease turned naturally to mundane studies. His office provided doubtless considerable revenues, certainly high social status, and ample leisure for study and travel[12]—and travel in some state, with a retinue. He made full use of his opportunities. His interests were not confined to his native or adopted town or district. He was in constant communication with the learned world outside, ever ready to fare to Oxford beyond the Border or Paris beyond the sea, *causa studendi* —*i.e.*, presumably for the prosecution of studies in the canon law, which was then considered the most important qualification for the higher clergy, since their professional work lay almost entirely in ecclesiastical administration; and for further reading in genealogy, history, chronicle and romance, four delectable subjects, separated by no sharp line of demarcation and not to be lightly neglected by officers of Church or State when a reference to Geoffrey of Monmouth's 'History' and the 'Prophecies,' whether of Merlin or Thomas of Ercildoune, could clinch a legal argument or support English claims to overlordship of Scotland.[13]

[12] The Cathedral statutes of Aberdeen in 1256 provided that the dean should reside "for the greater part of the year," the other dignitaries for six months. In 1366 it was enacted at Aberdeen that a canon not keeping due residence (presumably as above) should be mulcted in one seventh of the income of his prebend (Dowden, 'Med. Ch.,' pp. 74 and 75). The archdeacon (see *supra*, § 38, *n.* 1) was not compelled to reside so much as his colleagues. The stipend (of Barbour's immediate successor at least—'Pet.,' p. 583) was 60 marks, a considerable sum if we judge from the august influences invoked in the 'Petitions to the Pope' to secure benefices of only 20 marks, and there were of course substantial perquisites.

[13] Geoffrey's 'Historia,' composed perhaps with reference to the political circumstances of England in 1136, was gravely quoted by the learned in support of Henry II.'s claims to Anjou and Touraine and to Ireland. Edward I., in his letter to the Pope setting forth his claims to overlordship of Scotland, adduced the authority of Geoffrey. In reply to Edward I.'s queries as to the practice in the matter of succession to the Scottish Throne which were circulated among the monasteries, the returns, *e.g.*, from Feversham, consisted largely of extracts from the

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§ 41. 1364: The Germs of the 'Bruce.'

After 1357 the light of record does not shine again on Barbour till 1364. The intervening years he spent no doubt in his archdeaconry, attending doubtless the Provincial Council held in the Blackfriars' Church at Aberdeen on 26th November 1359;[1] seeing Michael de Monymusk, the great pluralist, promoted over his head to the Deanery on 9th November 1361;[2] dealing probably with the legal formalities when David II., at Aberdeen in 1362, the year of the second visitation of Scotland by the Black Death, granted the Bishop and Chapter the Royal lands at Garchull (Banff) for the augmentation of the stipend of a chaplain to say mass in the cathedral for the King's soul and the souls of his ancestors.[3] In 1363 Barbour might have seen on the Scottish roads an

'Historia' relating to 'Brutus' and the conquests of Arthur. See Sir Francis Palgrave, 'Docts. and Records illustrating the History of Scotland' (Record Series), 1837, p. cx.

John Harding (*d.* 1461) "proved" by reference to Geoffrey that Edward IV. was suzerain of Scotland.

For a full account of Geoffrey of Monmouth as an authority in the matter of English claims to overlordship of Scotland from Edward I. to Elizabeth, see Hans Matter, 'Englische Gründungssagen von Geoffrey of Monmouth bis zur Renaissance,' Heidelberg (Winter), 1922, pp. xxxiii+685, especially pp. 474-98.

Reference to even less trustworthy authorities was the common practice—*e.g.*, Knighton (ch. V.) alludes to the story of 'Havelok the Dane' as a ground for the Danish claim to the English throne, and then proceeds to tell the tale of 'Guy of Warwick,' while Gray in his 'Scalacronica' quotes "La Vie Saint Brandan" on the Scottish Succession. Maitland Club, ed. 1836, p. 112.

[1] Bellesheim, *op. cit.*, ii. 28.

[2] John Dowden, 'The Bishops of Scotland,' Glasgow (Maclehose), 1912, pp. xxix + 472; pp. 67 and 117. Michael had been Dean of Dunkeld. His name is writ large in the "Petitions to the Pope"—*e.g.*, in 1366 he applies for a canonry and prebend of Aberdeen worth 50 marks, although he is now Dean of Glasgow and canon and prebendary of Brechin. He finally became Bishop of Dunkeld in 1370.

[3] The deed was kept in the cathedral archives with the documents signed by the Archdeacon. Inventory by Henricus de Rynde, treasurer, in 'Registrum Episc. Aberd.' ii., p. 152. Dowden, 'Bps.,' 115.

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inquiring traveller with a portmanteau strapped to his saddle, and followed by a greyhound[4]—or even have held converse with him, for the ubiquitous Froissart was never in a hurry, and spent three days at Stirling with David II. and fifteen *au château d'Alqueth* [Dalkeith] with the Earl of Douglas,[5] and to both patrons was for ever grateful.[6] Nor need Barbour have gone far from Aberdeen to see Master John Fordun setting forth in the same year on his long quest for the lost memorials of early Scottish history or making perchance the first of those "copious notes in a book carried in his bosom."

On 4th November 1364, Barbour, with four companions, was granted a safe-conduct to England "for purposes of study,"[7] to conduct probably to Oxford or Cambridge one of those small parties of students who,

[4] Maxwell, *op. cit.*, i. p. 87, and *in re* Fordun, 'Early Chronicles relating to Scotland' (Maclehose), 1912. Fordun's travels lasted from 1363 to 1385.

[5] "Ens ou castiel je reposay par III jours avoecq le roy David d'Escoche" (Froissart, ed. Lettenhove, II. p. 213).

[6] In 1373 Froissart enumerates his (many) patrons:

> "Haro, que fai! je me bescoce;
> J'ai oublié le roy d'Escoce,
> Et le bon conte de Douglas,
> Avec qui j'ai mené grant glas.
> Bel me reçurent en leur marce." . . .

("Le Joli Buisson de Jonece," ll. 363-7, in his 'Poésies,' ed. Scheler, II. p. 11).

[7] 'Rotuli Scotiæ,' I, p. 886.

Many safe-conducts were granted on the same day. Laurentius de Govane was granted permission to go to St John of Amiens "et alia loca sancta," and with him "Walterus de Bygere rector ecclesie de Erole et Archibaldus de Douglas miles de Scotia cum duodecim equitibus." . . . "Magister Walterus de Wardelaw, archidiaconus Loudoniensis . . . versus curiam Romanam (at Avignon)." . . . "Johannes Barber archidiaconus Aberdonensis cum quatuor equitibus." "Thomas Nobill capellanus cum duobus equitibus." "Equites" must mean in these safe-conducts, not "knights" as Skeat says ('Br.' III, p. xxx), but "persons on horseback." In the case of persons going abroad it is expressly stipulated that they must not take out of England different horses than those on which they had reached the port of embarkation.

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under the guidance of a cleric, were now leaving frequently for England.[8]

Barbour had already no doubt embarked upon his literary career. If he wrote the 'Troy-Book,'[9] it was presumably before this time, as it appears to represent a considerably less mature art than that of his authenticated work. To discuss its authenticity once again is beyond our present purpose, but it may be pointed out that, while the argument *against* (recapitulated by Skeat, 'Br.,' Part III., pp. xlviii.-lv.) remains strong, the argument *for* is strengthened by the recent discovery that the Voyage to Rathlin ('Br.' III. 690-720), which presents a suspicious likeness to the Storm in the 'Troy-Book,'[10] is unhistorical, and by the fact that many of the expressions alleged to be unknown to Barbour are present in our 'Buik.'[11] Since in his authenticated work Barbour

[8] In 1365 alone passports were granted to eighty-one Scottish students going to Oxford. Alex. R. MacEwen, 'A History of the Church in Scotland' (Hodder & Stoughton), Vol. I (397-1546), 1913, pp. xv + 487; p. 296.

[9] See *supra*, § 29, *n.* 2.

[10] 'Troy-Book,' II, 1717-20. Line 1720, which is not in the Latin of Guido, is repeated in the 'Bruce'; see Neilson, 'J. B.,' p. 55.

[11] On the voyage to Rathlin (see *infra*, § 48, *n.* 4). Skeat's admission that the Troy fragments (see *supra*, § 29, *n.* 2) were perhaps "written by a man named Barbour," but not the Archdeacon, and his opinion that "if Barbour really wrote a poem on the then favourite theme of the Siege of Troy it has not come down to us," are damaging; several of his linguistic arguments, already weakened by Dr Neilson's disproof of some of his statements of fact, scarcely stand examination in the light of the 'Buik'—*e.g.*, "in a stound," "anerd," "emplese," "gowyt," "hattrent," "nummyn," "ouretyrve," occur in the 'Buik.' Skeat's "searching test" ("he" = HIGH, and "e" = EYE, riming with "be" = BE, "he" = HE, &c.; see *infra*, § 54) breaks down. The odd use of "to *rusch*," which Skeat notes as peculiar to the 'Bruce' and absent from the 'Troy-Book,' is common in the 'Buik.' This would seem to show, not that the 'Troy-Book' was written by some one else, but that it was written *earlier* than the 'Buik' and the 'Bruce'—*i.e.*, at a stage in Barbour's literary career when he had not yet had occasion to translate the French *reüser* in 'F. G.' and 'V. P.'

Buss, 'Anglia,' ix. (1886), after pointing out that both MSS., which stand in close agreement, must come from one already corrupt, applies the above "searching test," and without more ado bundles the 'Troy-Book' and the 'Legends of the Saints' into the fifteenth century (p. 496). In the rest of his article the 'Troy-Book' and the 'Bruce' con-

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refers to 'Dares and Dictys,' and since no self-respecting national history or Royal genealogy was written in his time that did not begin with the story of Troy, it is probable that he did write a 'Troy-Book,' as even Professor Skeat admits. The statement of an early fifteenth-century scribe and the very marked similarity of treatment suggest that the extant 'Troy-Book' is his, and we do not find any conclusive proof that it is not, either in the data collected by the German scholars or in the very confident deductions made therefrom. We know that Barbour was familiar with Guido's work either in the original Latin or in a French version, and it seems extremely probable that he translated it into Scots.

It was, we think, towards the year 1364 that the great dominating idea of Barbour's literary life began to form in his mind. A more exalted Scottish visitor had preceded him to England. In October 1363 David II. had betaken himself to Westminster, and there discussed with Edward III. a scheme which, when partially divulged,

tinually appear in one camp, and the 'Legends,' except "Ninian," in the other—*e.g.*, p. 504 (absence of *e : i* rimes) and 510 (assonances); his argument from the rime *wallis : schawis* ('Troy-Book,' 1717) is vitiated by the fact that *wallis* is merely a slip for *wawis* = "waves."

Kœppel, 'Engl. Studien,' x. (1886), independently of Buss, also concludes against Barbour. He makes a great deal (pp. 374-75) of the comparative infrequency of alliteration in the 'Troy-Book' and its marked frequency in the 'Bruce' [and, we may add, in the 'Buik']. Of the words which he enumerates as found in the 'Troy-Book' but not in the 'Bruce,' only *cleped*, *gyrnede* = "illaqueatus," *kyth*, *scantly*, *thiftfully*, and *uggin* = "horrere," are absent from the 'Buik'; *cleped* is clearly due to an English scribe. Such discrepancies are only to be expected in works written at different periods in an author's life, and are not very deadly.

Dr Brown admits Barbour's authorship without difficulty.

Joly's view that the 'Laud Troy-Book' (E.E.T.S.) is translated from a French version of Guido, though combated by Wülfling, 'Engl. Studien,' xxix. (1901), p. 380, seems reasonable enough, though difficult to prove. Everything depends on how close the French version was. The Aberdeen Cathedral Library possessed an 'Hystoria Troiana,' also the 'Legenda Aurea' and a 'Cronica Bruti,' the last "ex dono domini Alexandri Kynnynmunde episcopi" ('Reg. Episc. Aberd.,' ii., pp. 156 and 158). Barbour had therefore easy access to Guido's Latin work, but, unless we misjudge him, he would have preferred a French version.

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must have stirred Barbour's patriotism and set him thinking on his country's past, for it moved first the Parliament at Scone on 4th March 1364,[12] and then the whole nation, to emphatic and stubborn refusal. This scheme, to which David had secured the assent of the Earl of Douglas,[13] who was with him at Westminster, was that, in return for financial concessions, the third son of Edward III., Lionel of Antwerp,[14] should be recognised as his successor on the Scottish throne. By a sorry compromise David would escape payment of the exorbitant ransom imposed in 1357, and oust from the succession to the throne his nephew and *bête noire*, Robert the Steward, while Douglas would be restored to the estates in England which his father and his uncle had lost.[15] That the son of the Bruce and the nephew of the Black Douglas should be willing thus to undo the work of their elders and betters and barter away the national independence so dearly won, came as a shock to the country, which grimly addressed itself again to the task of working off the crushing ransom. It was time, high time, that a poet-historian should arise to retrace the past—

> " To put in wryt a suthfast story
> That it lest ay furth in memory."
> ('Br.' I. 13.)

And it was natural that he should spring from the Scottish

[12] Wyntoun (C) VIII, 7169-88; Hume Brown, *op. cit.*, i., p. 179. David had been meditating his precious scheme for years. As early as 1350 he had appealed to the Pope for release, offering to do homage to Edward III. and recognise "him or his son" as successor ('Pet.,' p. 203).

[13] William, the first earl, *d.* 1384.

[14] *b.* 29th November 1338, Earl of Ulster by his first marriage (as a child) with the heiress Elizabeth de Burgh (grand-daughter of Elizabeth de Clare, sister of Gilbert: see *infra*, § 49, *n.* 11), Duke of Clarence from 1362, *d.* 1368, five months after his second marriage with Yolande (see *infra*, § 45, *n.* 8).

[15] Maxwell, 'Dougl.,' i., pp. 83-4; 'Exch. R.,' ii., p. li.

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Church, which had been the sturdiest defender of national independence and had braved the thunders of the Papal See in the cause of an excommunicated King.[16] If the Archdeacon of Aberdeen in 1364 or 1365 had raised his eyes from his meditations to the high altar of his own cathedral and reflected on the origins of these splendid decorations *ex spolio conflictus de Bannockburne*, he must have felt that the deeds of Bruce and Douglas were in some danger of being forgotten.

§ 42. Barbour at St Denis: 'Les Vœux du Paon.'

For the moment, however, Barbour had other projects. Since the treaty of Brétigny in 1360, foreign travel had become easier, and the renewal, on 20th June 1365, of the truce between David II. and Edward III.[1] was attended by a remarkable increase in the number of Scottish travellers to France. Like other ecclesiastical brethren,[2] Barbour had hardly returned from Oxford when he applied for another passport, this time to St Denis, which was granted at Westminster on 16th October 1365.[3]

[16] Robert I. had been excommunicated for his murder of Comyn, without delay, 5th June 1306, by the Archdeacons of Middlesex and Colchester ('Chron. Edw. I.,' Vol. i., p. 147). It was not till 15th October 1328 (the year before his death) that he was finally absolved from the censures of the Church (Bellesheim, *op. cit.*, ii., 15). Even his last wishes were in defiance of a Papal Bull, that of Boniface VIII., "Detestando feritatis abusum" [1299]. Two years after his death Pope John XXII. granted absolution to all who had part "in the inhuman and cruel treatment" of King Robert's body (Maxwell, ibid.).

[1] 'Rotuli Scotiæ,' I, p. 895.

[2] *E.g.*, "Thomas Nobill capellanus" appears again ('Rot. Scot.,' I, 893) with a safe-conduct for a year (1365) "in regnum Anglie et alibi."

[3] Rymer, 'Fœdera,' VI, p. 478, and 'Rot. Scot.,' I, p. 897:

"Sciatis quod suscepimus in protectionem & defensionem nostram necnon in salvum & securum conductum Archebaldū de Douglas militem . . . cum octo sociis suis equitibus . . . versus partes trans-

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The journey was ostensibly a pilgrimage.[4] Barbour's older colleague, Canon David de Mar (see § 40, *n.* 5), set forth for Amiens, where he would venerate the Head of John the Baptist; Barbour chose St Denis, where he would view the most sainted relics in Christendom, the Crown of Thorns and the Nail which Charlemagne brought back to St Denis, as related in the romance of 'Fierabras,' written to be sung by minstrels to the pilgrims at the shrine.[5]

mar" usq "Sanctum Dionisium & alia loca sancta . . . per unum annum."

Safe-conducts were granted also in the following names, among others:

"Magr David de Mare usque Stum Johem Ambianensem" . . .

"Johes Barbere archidiaconus Aberdonensis, cum sex sociis suis equitibus, usque Sanctum Dionisium."

[4] The reasons for such a pilgrimage were many; besides the more obvious, curiosity, desire for travel or for a "holiday," a malady beyond the skill of leeches, were often factors; money was left by dying persons in their wills and pilgrimages were often made vicariously; see Trevelyan, *op. cit.*, pp. 133-4. They were very frequent in fourteenth century Scotland. Archibald Douglas went on many (see *supra*, § 40, *n.* 8), elsewhere than to St Denis, and one of the charges brought against Queen Margaret Logie was that she was addicted to costly pilgrimages. Bellesheim, *op. cit.*, II, 27.

[5] 'Fierabras,' a thirteenth century rehandling of a lost original, relates how a Saracen King, Balan, carried off the relics of the Passion from St Peter's in Rome to Spain, and concealed them in his city of Aigremor (reached by passing the town of "Mautrible," on the river "Flagot," which exist only in 'Fierabras' and the 'Destruction de Rome'). When Charlemagne endeavoured to recover the relics, Oliver and others of his Peers were captured and imprisoned in Aigremor. But Balan's daughter Floripas loved Guy of Burgundy, and helped them. Charlemagne vanquished and slew Balan, and having bestowed half of Spain on Balan's son Fierabras, who became a Christian, and half on Guy, who married Floripas, he carried away the relics to France, giving the Crown of Thorns and the Nail of the Cross to the Abbey of St Denis.

The poet alleges that he found the facts in an old "roll" at St Denis, and both the subject of the poem and the poet's pointed references to the Abbey (and his complaint on the exigences of the Abbey authorities at St Denis) show that it was written for the pilgrims to that shrine. With the *jongleurs* the Abbey was a favourite source of alleged "rolls," but it was also a repository of real chronicles. The Foire du Lendit, "la plus roial foire du monde," first mentioned 1122, was held in June. The wares included parchment.

"A la coste du grant chemin
Est la foire du parchemin,"

and the University of Paris bought its annual supply there. The other two fairs of St Denis were held on 25th February and 10th October.

See Joseph Bédier, 'Romania,' XVII, 34, p. 51; 'les Légendes

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For them in their leisure hours, as for the motley crowd that congregated in June for the Foire du Lendit, one of the greatest market fairs in mediæval Europe, lighter fare was also in readiness—poems less heroic, sometimes mock-heroic. Such was the burlesque 'Pèlerinage de Charlemagne,' which told how the Emperor brought the relics to St Denis after adventures not always edifying, and such also was the entirely mundane 'Vœux du Paon.'

§ 43. 'Les Vœux du Paon' and the Court of David II.

Now we have a shrewd idea why the Archdeacon who had been to St Denis made the Bruce read 'romanys off worthi Ferambrace" on Loch Lomond. But to hear either that poem or 'Les Vœux' for the first time, he had perhaps no need to travel so far. 'Sir Ferumbras' was well known in England (see *supra*, § 39, *n.* 8), 'Les Vœux' even better known (see *supra*, § 9). Wherever we turn in the domain of 'Vows,' we come sooner or later to the massive figure of Edward III., and then we are seldom far from the satellite David Bruce. We cannot doubt that in David's reign Jacques de Longuyon's work was popular in Scotland at Court and castle. Poor indeed would have been the literary entertainment of

épiques,' Vol. iv. (Champion), 1913, p. 157; and J. Coulet, 'Le Pèlerinage de Charlemagne,' Montpellier (1906), p. 214 *n.*

'Fierabras' appears in M.E. The 'Sowdon of Babylon' translates, very loosely, the 'Destruction de Rome' and 'Fierabras' (probably the lost version thereof), which is also the source of 'Sir Ferumbras' (South of England, 1375-1400). The relics mentioned by Barbour differ from those enumerated in all other versions (see the discussion in Mr Mackenzie's 'Br.,' pp. 508-11), possibly as the result of his visit to St Denis.

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Davy and Joanna in the days of their youth at Château-Gaillard and the chivalric and splendid Court of Philip VI., if never once in seven long years had minstrel sung them a tale so fashionable then, so admirably adapted to Davy's taste for justing, dancing, and the lighter side of life,[1] so interesting for Joanna, if only as sister to Edward III. and sister-in-law to Philippa, who was not only a patroness of literary men, but, being of Hainault, had at least a sentimental interest in 'Vows,' and is said by the author of 'Les Vœux du Héron' to have joined in the famous Vowing and pledged herself and her unborn child [Lionel] to the success of Edward's cause. When David went to Buironfosse in 1339 (and Edward III. spent the night at the neighbouring town of Avesnes, alleged residence of Jacques de Longuyon), he was in the midst of the country of 'Vows'; and at Arras in the following year he had for companions-in-arms the Comte de Bar, the Bishop of Metz and Thiébaut de Bar's successor in the see of Liège.[2] In later life, when David's rash chivalry at Neville's Cross had led him into captivity, he and many of his nobles had eleven years' leisure in which to study at close quarters the literary tastes of the English Court, and no lack of fellow-captives fresh from

[1] David II. returned from France with all the French accomplishments:

"Iustynge, dawnssynge and playinge
He luffit weil for he was ȝynge;
And withe sic gamysse solassande
He rad oft throw al the lande." Wyntoun (C) VIII, 5936.

Payments for jousts in which he took part are entered in the 'Exch. R.,' I, p. clxiv. While in captivity he appeared at a tournament at Windsor, 23rd April 1349, wearing as a badge a white rose. Hailes, *op. cit.*, II, p. 275. The accounts of the keeper of the Great Wardrobe (G. F. Beltz, 'Memorials of the Order of the Garter,' London, Pickering, 1841, p. 380) have the entry: Et ad faciendū i hernesium Dño David regi Scotie de velvetto blu cum i pala de velv. rubeo & infra palā p'dcām una rosa argentea pro hastiludio Regis apud Wyndesores.

[2] Le Bel, 'Chron.' I, p. 195.

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France, lettered lords and princes, nay, the chivalric King of France in person,[3] to inspire an interest in 'Vows.' Not even restoration to his northern kingdom could break the spell which Edward III. and his brilliant entourage had cast. Frequent (and costly for the impoverished Scots) were his return visits[4] to Edward, his illustrious brother-in-law, ex-captor turned friend, admired of all, and by none more than Davy, for skill in tournament and for flamboyant chivalry, great romance reader,[5] and one of the chief characters himself in 'Les Vœux du Héron.'[6] When we note that the other chief character therein, Robert of Artois,[7] had seen his own boys relegated

[3] Jean le Bon, son of Philip VI., whom he had succeeded 22nd August 1350. He was lodged in the Tower, 25th May 1357, according to some chroniclers, at Windsor (while David remained in the Tower) according to Knighton, ed. Lumby, II, p. 95. Jean comes within the ambit of the 'Vows' if only by the fact that he set at liberty the sons of Robert of Artois, and was notorious as a votary of the wildest, most Quixptic, forms of chivalry.

[4] "The Kynge Dauid in Inglande rade [in 1358]
As oft tyme in oysse he hade,
And at Lundynge hym play walde he;
For thar was richt gret specialte
Betweyn hym ande the Kynge Edwart."
Wyntoun (C) VIII, 7037.

These visits duly figure in the 'Exch. R.'; see Vol. ii., p. xlv.

[5] In 1331 Edward not only bought, from a nun of Amesbury, a book of romance for the then prodigious sum of £66, 13s. 4d., but kept it in his own room for his private delectation. If Edward did not possess a copy of 'V. P.,' his sixth son Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester (*b.* 1355), apparently did (see our Vol. ii., p. xxvii.).

[6] See § 9, *n.* 12.

[7] In 1334 Philip VI. caused Jeanne, wife of Robert of Artois, and their children, to be arrested. According to Nangis (II, p. 142) and 'Les Grandes Chroniques' (V, p. 356), the children were confined at Nemours, where Froissart alleges that David was lodged, but 'La Chronique des Quatre Premiers Valois' says that three of the sons were sent to Château-Gaillard, In either case, we make our point. Château-Gaillard has another connection with our 'Vows.' The first wife of King Charles IV., uncle of Edward III., was Blanche, second daughter of the Mahaut d'Artois who purchased 'Les Vœux du Paon.' Blanche was, according to Le Bel ('Chron.' I, p. 90), "une des plus belles dames du monde . . ." but . . . "garda mal son mariage et le forfist, pourquoy elle demoura longtemps en prison à Chasteau Gaillart." She was sent there in 1314, and was still there in 1323. The marriage with Blanche being annulled by the Pope (19th May 1322), Charles married, September 1322, Marie de Luxembourg, daughter of the Emperor Henry celebrated in 'V. P.' (colophon) and in 'Les Vœux de l'Épervier' (see § 8, *n.* 2).

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for their father's sins to Château-Gaillard, where they no doubt played with young Davy and Joanna, and find that Davy figures in the later literature of 'Vows' as one of the "Three Kings' Sons" (see *supra*, § 9, *n.* 6), how can we doubt that the Scottish Court of Barbour's day was perfectly familiar with 'Vows,' and included, besides the French minstrels (see *infra*, § 45, *n.* 6), some ardent admirers of Jacques de Longuyon's thrice-famous work?

Nor is it easy to resist the conclusion that Barbour's choice of that work for translation was due to its popularity in Court circles. Contact between the Archdeacon of Aberdeen and the Scoto-French aristocracy is not difficult to establish. The chief among them, Davy himself, was almost an Aberdonian. The little Court at Château-Gaillard had been kept most faithfully and regularly supplied with Aberdeen salmon,[8] and when the young King returned from France he knew where the warmest welcome awaited him. Landing at Inverbervie on 2nd June 1341 with a goodly company of French knights,[9] he proceeded to Aberdeen. There he held his first Parliament (February 1341-2), and there he spent, with frequent excursions to Kildrummy, the first two years of his effective reign. Robert the Bruce had married the daughter of an Earl of Mar. Members of the Royal family were permanent residents in Aberdeenshire. David's venerable aunt, Christian, sister of the Bruce, lived in 1341, and for many a year after,[10] at faithful Kildrummy. His elder sister, Matilda, of whom Fordun says, perhaps darkly, that she did nothing

[8] 'Exch. R.,' I, pp. 456, 465, 479, 506, &c.
[9] Murimuth, p. 121; Froissart, IV, p. 435.
[10] 'Exch. R.,' I, p. clxiii. and II, p. cxxxiv. She made gifts to the Church of St Nicholas, Aberdeen (Wm. Kennedy, 'Annals of Aberdeen,' 1818, Vol. i., p. 27), and died in 1357 (Fordun, clxxviii., ed. Skene, p. 377).

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worthy of note, married, apparently after 1342, Thomas Isaac, and lived and died in Aberdeen.[11] His younger sister, Margaret, who married the Earl of Sutherland, brought her husband half of the thanages of Fermartin and Kintore, the other half belonging to Matilda.[12] In 1342, and possibly in other years, the Queen and the two Princesses had their dresses made at Aberdeen.[13] From 1348 the thanage of Aberdeen was in the hands of Queen Joanna.[14] When Davy was released from captivity in England he lost no time in visiting Aberdeen, in 1358.[15] He lived there again in 1361 when busied with his preparations for the capture of Kildrummy, and made gifts to the local religious houses.[16] We have seen that he is said to have intervened from England in the election of the Bishop in 1355 which resulted in Barbour's appointment to the vacated archdeaconry, and was a visitor to the city and a benefactor of the cathedral in 1362.[17] Davy must have met the Archdeacon. In the days when the Royal family were Aberdeen citizens and a hapless claimant to the name of Bruce had to give himself out as the son of an Aberdeen burgess to obtain

[11] "Nihil dignum egit memoria" ('Ann.,' lxxviii.) Matilda had lived for some years in Aberdeen before she died there in 1353. Like Christian and Margaret Bruce she was buried at Dunfermline. Kennedy, *op. cit.*, I, p. 31; 'Exch. R.,' I, p. cxxviii; Fordun, p. 369.

[12] 'Exch. R.,' I, p. cxxvii. Margaret and her husband had the barony of Cluny in Aberdeenshire, with the advocation of the kirk (Robertson, 'Index,' p. 32) and lands at Arbuthnott (ibid., p. 39).

[13] Ibid., xxxii.

[14] Ibid., I, p. 543.

[15] Ibid., II, p. 76, under date 1361: "pro expensis eiusdem domini regis, apud Abirden factis, in festo assumpcionis beate Marie Virginis anno . . . LVIII, &c.

[16] Ibid., II, p. 58: "Fratribus Predicatoribus de Abirden, ex elemosina domini regis annua, xxvj li; Et Fratribus Carmelitis eiusdem . . . x li" figure among other expenses of the King's visit.

[17] See *supra*, § 41, *n.* 3; David gave many charters at Aberdeen in 1362, 'Reg. Mag. Sigill,' I. (1912), Nos. 104, 112, 114, &c., one (No. 112) which must have concerned Barbour as Archdeacon—the grant of the church of Logie in Buchan to the Chapter.

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credence,[18] the King could discuss banners and matters heraldic[19] with the cathedral clergy, and French Romance with the Archdeacon. Whatever French literature the King, the Court or the Aberdeenshire lords and gentry read, or heard read, was assuredly not inaccessible to the Archdeacon of Aberdeen.

§ 44. ? 1366-68: Barbour translates 'Les Vœux' and 'Li Fuerres.'

Whenever, wherever, and however Barbour first heard 'Les Vœux' read aloud, he fell a victim to its charm. On his rounds through the archdeaconry, on his visits to the bleak lands of Rayne[1] which yielded him fat prebends, or to the battered keep at Kildrummy, after exchanging notes with his 'Deans of Christianity,' or discussing with Deeside or Donside lairds the documents

[18] "Venit quidam de Anglia, qui fingens se filium cujusdam burgensis de Abirden . . . per XIV annos in carcere se fuisse dicebat." Bower, 'Scotichron,' xiii., p. 337. He made himself out to be Alexander de Bruce, and was promptly executed by David. But Bower adds that many people still think that he was what he said.

[19] Payment is made in 1364, "Johanni pictori de Aberden pro factura duorum vexillorum domini nostri regis" ('Exch. R.,' II, p. 168). In banners and tapestries ordered from France by the King of Spain in 1347, 1351 and 1368, the Nine Worthies appear (Prof. W. J. Entwistle, 'The Arthurian Legend in Lit. Span. Peninsula,' 1925, pp. 271; pp. 53 and 89). In Rubio y Lluck, whom he quotes, p 53, it is clear (Vol. ii., pp. 221-2) that the tapestries bought by Pedro III. in 1380 came from the Bar family. The Nine Worthies appear also in the heraldic ceilings (early seventeenth century) of Craigievar, Aberdeenshire, and of Earlshall, Fifeshire. For this information we are indebted to Miss Calderwood.

[1] Where the records disclose his presence later, 24th June 1380, and where he had a ward, *c.* 1380-1. (Skeat, ed. 'Br.' III, pp. xix and xxxv). Rayne was of some ecclesiastical and legal importance. The Bishop of Aberdeen and the King's justiciar held a court at the standing stones of Rayne, 2nd May 1349, and, in 1382, the Bishop summoned excommunicated persons to the chapel of his Manor of Rayne ('Reg. Episc. Aberd.,' I, p. xxix). Barbour held the prebend of Rayne *ex officio* as Archdeacon: "Quinta prebenda canonie Archidiaconatus assignatur ecclesia de Rane cum omnibus fructibus obuentionibus et ceteris ad eandem spectantibus." ('Statuta Eccl. Aberd.,' ibid., II, p. 38).

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he witnessed for them,[2] he would retail with gusto some episode of the Romance, till one spring, whether the gay dance and upleap of the year (possibly 1366) or only the poet's conventional season, he determined to translate the whole into the vernacular, for the benefit of "thame that na Romanes can"—*i.e.*, those who had allowed the language of their Norman ancestors to lapse, or those, a little lower down the social scale though still in bower and hall, who were unfamiliar with courtly French, and the ladies who had not been at French schools.

In that determination relief from the pains of unrequited love is said in the Prologue (under cover of strict anonymity) to have been the compelling cause. Whether she whom in the Prologue he claims to have loved in vain was but a figment of the prevailing literary convention, or was only too real, matrimony was—for reasons which we fain would, but may never know—a sore point with Barbour. In the 'Bruce' he goes very far out of his way indeed to inform us—

> "That wedding is the hardest band
> That ony man may tak on hand" (I. 267),

an observation remarkable not for its originality or novelty, but for an utter irrelevance springing from the fulness of an experienced heart.[3] The experience was probably only that acquired by hearing matrimonial

[2] Such as those recorded in his later years "De tenura Reginaldi de Chyne in terris de Clyntre" (5th July 1382) ('Reg. Episc. Aberd., I, p. 141). "De tenura Alexandri de Irvyne in terris de Dulmayok" [Drumoak] (31st July 1382), and the agreement "super terra de Lurgyndaspok" between Bishop Gilbert and "dominum Johannem de Forbes dominum ejusdem, militem" (5th July 1391), ibid., II, p. 189.

[3] We need not discover here an allusion to the matrimonial troubles of David II. with Queen Margaret Logie. The disadvantages of the married state formed a congenial topic for the chroniclers—*e.g.*, Walter Bower's comments thereon are, according to Lord Hailes, *op. cit.*, II, p. 260, "capable of forcing a smile from the severest readers." Barbour's observations on feminine charms and wiles (*e.g.*, 'Br.' II, 548, and III. 518) are guileless.

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causes in the consistory court. His ecclesiastical status [4] and public opinion [5] left him free to marry if he wished, but of his private life nothing is known. The one slur which has ever been cast upon a blameless career is the statement that, having once borrowed a book from the Cathedral Library, he failed to return it. The gravity of that offence we neither palliate nor deny. But, having looked into the documents of the case, we exonerate Barbour of all blame. In the first place, the book was a Decretal of little value, 'Decretum modici valoris'; and, in the second place, it was removed by John Barbour, precentor, "per magistrum Johannem Barber cantorem." Now there were two "John Barbours" at St Machar's Cathedral, and they have been unhappily compressed into one in the index of the 'Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis,' edited by Cosmo Innes. "Johannes Barber, cantor," who was alive in 1413, lost the Decretal; "Johannes Barbar, archidiaconus" did not.[6]

With this warning before our eyes, we need scent no scandal in the Prologue. A much more probable motive

[4] A letter of Pope Alexander IV. to the Bishop of Ross in 1255 confirms his Cathedral ordinances . . . that the Archdeacon should be in deacon's orders, and all the canons in priest's or deacon's or subdeacon's orders. Dowden, 'Med. Ch.,' p. 72, who mentions ('Bps.,' p. 241) "Alan (see *supra*, § 40, *n.* 10), Archdeacon of Aberdeen, in deacon's orders."

[5] "Neither at this period (1060-1272), nor in the times which follow down to the Reformation, was the celibacy of the clergy very rigorously enforced in the English Church. The married clerk was by no means regarded as a reprobate." Bishop Dowden, 'Med. Ch.,' quoting this sentence from Stephens, says that it exactly describes the state of matters in Scotland till the Reformation.

[6] The error of the indexer has been repeated in the writings of all who have dealt with Barbour. The first entry certainly warrants the worst suspicions:

"Libri Decretalium absentes. Item: Decretum perditum per magistrum Johannem Barbour." 'Registr. Episc. Aberd.,' ii., 133. But subsequent entries show a clear case of mistaken identity and judicial error:

"Decretum modici valoris ablatum per magistrum Johannem Barber cantorem." Ibid., p. 157.

"Et ego Johannes Barborij cantor consentio et me subscribo" [to a document dated 1413]. Ibid., p. 232.

"Presentibus . . . Johanne Barbar archidiacono" [at the signing of an agreement, dated 1391].

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than lovesickness is a hint from some great one whose knowledge of French, and of French life and ways, was better than his retainers', and who would fain inculcate a proper regard for the manners and customs of knighthood, and hold up to emulation the chivalric tradition of Alexander as handed on in 'Li Fuerres' and 'Les Vœux.' Like so many other contemporary and later translations—*e.g.*, 'William of Palerne,' undertaken, *c.* 1350, at the Earl of Hereford's command, or Sir Gilbert Haye's 'Buik of Alexander,' or 'Lancelot of the Laik,' ascribed by its translator to lovesickness, but by Professor Brandl to the instigation of James IV., who tried to keep alive the chivalrous spirit of the olden days by tournaments and the like—the 'Buik of Alexander' proceeded from high places, possibly from the highest. What the Earl of Hereford could do, his cousin, the King of Scots, could also do.[7] In the fourteenth century no man born to be King in Western Europe could remain indifferent to the call of Chivalry and Romance—certainly not David II., who enjoyed the company of such knights-errant and lovers of beautiful manuscripts as Philip VI., Edward III., and Jean le Bon, and whom we shall see (§ 45, *n.* 5) in close colloquy with the Prelate of the Order of the Garter. The 'Buik' may well have had some connection with the Court of David II.

When Barbour completed the translation, he added

[7] Humphrey de Bohun, sixth Earl of Hereford, was the third son of Humphrey, fourth Earl, and Elizabeth, seventh daughter of Edward I. He was therefore a cousin of Queen Joanna. He succeeded at the age of twenty-four, in January 1335-6, commanded the garrison of Perth in 1337, and died unmarried 15th October 1361. 'William of Palerne' (E.E.T.S., 1882) was translated at his behest,

"For hem that knowe no Frensche, ne never understod."

His successor, Henry de Bohun, was in constant (legal) communication with David II., who was in the humiliating position of sharing with the Earl of Hereford Lochmaben Castle and the Lordship of Annandale, the old inheritance of the Bruces, and entered into various agreements with Henry from 1361 to 1364. Bain, 'Cal.' IV. (1888), Nos. 47, 100, 127, 128.

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not his name but a colophon, craving indulgence for the imperfections inevitable in such work, for, he says, even—

> "Thocht that I seuin ȝeir had sittin.
> To mak it on sa gude manere,
> Sa oppin sentence and sa clere
> As is the frenche, I micht haue failȝeit." (IV, Col. 10.)

How many years he did sit we cannot tell. But seven is mentioned as an unthinkable maximum (unless, of course, this be unconscious truth). The early scholars possessed immense powers of industry, and, without calculating too nicely or raising impertinent questions (if a bishop took only eighteen months to translate the 'Æneid,'[8] how long would an archdeacon take to translate 'Les Vœux du Paon'?), we may safely enough allow Barbour two years after his return from St Denis, or any period not exceeding seven years if he began the translation before his pilgrimage, and, less safely, surmise that the date which he stated in his colophon was the spring of 1368.

'Les Vœux du Paon,' when translated, was felt to be incomplete. That well of pure delight lacked a proper approach. The story had a beginning which was missing; young Gadifer had had a father more illustrious than he; Alexander and Emenidus had fought at Gadres before they fought at Ephesoun. Barbour therefore translated the episode to which 'Les Vœux du Paon' was but a sequel, and set the translation in its proper place, at the beginning of the 'Buik,' without remark, prologue or colophon. Copies of 'Li Fuerres' were probably obtainable in Scotland; if not, one could be easily obtained

[8] The "XIII Bukes of Eneados of the Famous Poete Virgill translated into Scottish Metir bi the Reuerend Father in God Mayster Gawin Douglas [Bishop of Dunkeld] . . . compilyt in auchtene monethis space."

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when Barbour revisited France at the end of the year, not ostensibly on a pilgrimage this time, but frankly *causa studendi*.[9] Whether before that visit or after, he finished off his translation of 'Li Fuerres,' not without leaving traces of haste, and was free to devote himself in earnest to the biography of Robert the Bruce. That he had already begun it before he completed the 'Foray' appears from the fact that the similarities of expression in the 'Bruce' and the 'Buik' are most frequent in the 'Foray,' which is the most fruitful source of verbal inspiration, and is itself influenced by the 'Bruce,' in the matter of proper names (see *supra*, § 13, *n.* 13).

§ 45. (? 1369)-1375: Composition of the 'Bruce.'

In translating the Romance of a great King, Alexander, and his lieutenant, Emenidus, of their steadfastness in adversity and their final triumph in the 'Great Battle of Ephesoun,' Barbour could not fail to see its bearing on the story of King Robert, the Black Douglas and Bannockburn, now rapidly passing into legend. The feeling of nationality, which in England developed in the course of the Hundred Years' War, was in Scotland awake, as we have seen, in 1364. By 1369 David's unhappy proposal was forgiven, not forgotten; Lionel was dead; David had entered on the paths of repentance, and begun to govern his kingdom like a Bruce. The rising wave of Scottish patriotism carried Barbour from Romance to

[9] 'Rot. Scot.,' I, p. 926. The safe-conduct is dated Westminster, 30th November 1368: "Magr̄ Joñes Barber . . . cum duobus valettis & duobus equis versus partes Franc. causa studendi."

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History, from translation of French to original composition. The transition is clearly shown by the 'Ballet,' adapted from the 'Buik' when Barbour's mind was full of Robert's greatness, perhaps during the composition of the 'Bruce' —*i.e.*, before 1375, and possibly for the purposes of a pageant of the Nine Worthies to celebrate a King's entry into Aberdeen.[1] Moreover, ballads form a link between the facts and their epic presentation, as Barbour himself bears witness.[2] His new subject was in the air of 1369. In that year a monk sat in the Abbey of Melrose inditing a rimed chronicle of the Bruce and Bannockburn (see *supra*, § 21, *n.* 13). Perhaps there was also a more direct, a personal, suggestion. It is very generally believed that Barbour was encouraged—some have even said commissioned—to write the 'Bruce' by Robert II., who certainly did reward him after it was finished. Both subject and treatment betoken in fourteenth century conditions a Royal patron and a courtier poet. But is it so certain that he had to wait for the accession of the "humble" and elderly High Steward in March 1370-1 for whatever encouragement he required from King or Court?

Far be it from us to detract from the merits of Robert II. He loaded Barbour with honours, and he left the reputation of a well-meaning, peaceable, if unimpressive, monarch, and a patron of learning and letters.[3] The Arch-

[1] Dunbar, 'Blyth Aberdein,' 33, speaks of Robert the Bruce figuring in a pageant, on the occasion of a Royal visit by Margaret, Queen of James IV.

[2] 'Br.' XVI. 489-534. Barbour's remark is this:

Douglas with 50 men defeated 10,000. There are two other examples of fights waged with 50 men; the second was in Galloway by Edward Bruce; the third, in Eskdale by Sir John de Soulis, he need not repeat, as it is chronicled in a well-known ballad.

[3] Robert II., *b.* 2nd March 1315-6, and therefore eight years older than his uncle, David II., whom he succeeded. William Stewart, his descendant, says that Robert II. was generous to

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deacon's recorded rise to Royal favour dates from the accession of Robert II., which was instantly followed by the renewal of the alliance with France and a complete break with David II.'s ill-disguised policy of submission to England. But if, as we believe, the 'Bruce' was begun before the unexpected death of David II., and if, as all precedent indicates, the projected work was commenced with Royal approval, Robert the Steward can have had little to do with its inception, and some credit may be due to his enigmatic uncle. Of Robert II., who after all was not a Bruce but a Fitz-Alan, as of his ancestors and predecessors in the hereditary office of Steward, the 'Bruce' says surprisingly little for a Romance "compiled" in his reign. Barbour's literary interest in the new dynasty does not appear till later. David II., who was probably at least the indirect source of the 'Buik,' and in a sense inspired the 'Bruce,' if only in regrettable fashion, by causing a revulsion of feeling (see *supra*, § 41), may in the days of his repentance which apparently followed have lent his patronage to Barbour's undertaking.

In Fenton's and in Barbour's work David II. appears as a common factor, for in his reign Melrose and Aberdeen basked alike in the Royal favour. 'The kynge at Mewros oft walde ly," says Wyntoun.[4] In his earlier days he was

> "All men of lair that cunnyng war in scuillis . . .
> Supportand thame ay on his awin expens"
> ('Bk. Cron. Sc.,' 57,369),

and refers to him with appreciation, as "ane humbill man" (55,265), "humbill and benyng" (55,491), of "meikness and grace" (55,555), and fortunate in his wars, "Suppois him self remanit still at hame" (57,355)—which is very faint praise.

[4] VIII (C) 6953. It was also near Melrose that Katarine de Mortymer, whom David had brought back with him from London, was murdered, almost in his presence. 'Scalacronica' (Maitland Club), p. 196. He gave charters at Aberdeen in 1365, 1366, and 7th October 1369, four months before his death ('Reg. Mag. Sig.,' Nos. 115, 259), but he gave more at Melrose.

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also, as we have shown, a constant visitor to Aberdeen, and these visits remained frequent till the very end of his life. Undue weight should not be attached to the objection that David, not being himself a patriot, is unlikely to have encouraged a patriotic poem, or that his pitiable appearance in the eyes of the historians precludes an interest in literature. The work which David may have encouraged was a Biography of his father; the patriotism Barbour supplied, unasked and unconsciously. As Mr Mackenzie has well shown, the patriotism in the 'Bruce' is merely incidental. About 'Freedom,' which has been so often mistaken for Barbour's theme, there is not a word in his Prologue, which gives out the subject, quite correctly, as 'Bruce and Douglas.'

Moreover, the charges which the historians bring against David II. have nothing whatever to do with his capabilities as a patron of letters. It is true that he failed to govern the Scots, but who, except Cromwell, succeeded? It is also true that he cuts a sorry figure in history with his anti-national schemes and unwise, impolitic actions. He had no lawful children, and any one, his brother-in-law the Earl of Sutherland, or his nephew Prince Lionel of England, seemed to him a more suitable successor than the Steward who had left him in the lurch at Neville's Cross. He had lived too long at foreign courts to sympathise with Scottish patriotism, not too long perhaps to lose the Scottish taste for hero-worship. Misguided, pleasure-loving, choleric, spendthrift as David was, he was in many ways his father's son, full of personal courage, not without sudden flashes of energy and generous feeling, capable of asserting his Royal dignity and of stamping out revolt with a disconcerting promptness, and having the knack of inspiring, despite his faults and excesses, some per-

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sonal loyalty,[5] much attracted by war or its pomp and circumstance—and just as likely as any one to wish that the martial deeds of an illustrious father, whom he had lost as a boy of five, should be set down in permanent chronicle form, or, better, in the form of a French Romance. He had had a careful education, and he showed interest both in literature and in learning;[6] legend

[5] Barbour calls him "worthy" ('Br.' XIII. 683), Wyntoun and his Collaborator display a kindly affection for his memory, and all three have a pleasing habit of referring to him as "Davy." This form, which is not applied to his contemporary namesakes in charters and the like, nor to the Prophet in Barbour, Wyntoun, &c., is in reality what it appears to be, a diminutive of affection. The odium which David II. incurred in England for having invaded the country when Edward III. was abroad, and the natural effects of "war fever," account sufficiently for the ferocious diatribes of his English critics immediately after the Battle of Durham and for the erection of an expiatory (Neville's) Cross. From the verses preserved, in Wright's 'Political Songs,' Vol. i., and the 'Illustrations of Scottish History' (Maitland Club, 1834), pp. 63-71, immorality and cowardice would seem to be the main charges: "uxorem contemnit," Wright, p. 48; minstrels wrote for him, and sang to his mistresses, "gesta luxuriosa," p. 141, &c.; he ran away at Neville's Cross, and is dubbed "Cancer,' *i.e.*, Crab, for his retrograding habit by "John of Bridlington." The Lanercost Chronicle runs through the gamut of mediæval abuse, likening him to Ahab, Pharaoh, Herod, &c., pp. 344-45, but it appears, on p. 346, that "iste David cacator" did considerable damage at Lanercost.

That David was on bad terms with Joanna, who eventually left him, is quite true. Admirable woman as she appears to have been, she was not of David's choosing. That he had numerous mistresses is well known. He would have been a remarkable fourteenth century monarch if he had not, and the fact does not mark him off from Edward III. or Robert II. That his army was retiring in utter rout when John Coupland captured him is also true, but the hostile chroniclers say that he was severely wounded, and the friendly add that he fought like a madman and broke two of John's teeth, which seems quite consistent with his notoriously violent and choleric temperament. During his long captivity in England he was on excellent terms with his Keeper at Odiham, and remained so after his release (Bain, 'Cal.' III., p. liii), and with the Bishop of Winchester, whom he begs, in a letter of 22nd May 1356 (ibid., No. 1610), to remember "the parlance" which he held with him beside the Bishop's bed. In estimating David's character, we must make allowance for contemporary English, and later Scottish, hostility. He had sallied forth when Edward's broad back was turned, and had been caught. He had found that the English were not so black as they were painted, and he had indulged in dreams which came true in 1603, though in less questionable form. David was a "Merry Monarch," which in no wise excludes the power of inspiring affection or of inspiring poetry.

[6] As early as 1330 an entry appears in the 'Exch. R.,' I., p. 297, "Pro libris emendis ad opus domini regis . . . xx li." His Court at Château-Gaillard included Dalgarnock, his tutor, and the Bishops of

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credits him with artistic tastes;[7] Froissart counts him among his appreciative patrons and admiring hosts; and history reveals his partiality for Lionel of Antwerp, who was at least singularly discriminating in his friendships with men of letters.[8] David's very misfortunes provided unwonted opportunities for self-culture, and make him a more likely Maecenas than the home-keeping Steward. Had David II. lived, as Robert II. did, to see the completed 'Bruce,' he, too, might have rewarded the author.

It seems also possible that Barbour received encouragement from the House of Douglas, which was becoming wellnigh as powerful as the King. The large, if not excessive, part played in his epic by his second, almost co-equal, hero would have surprised modern[9] critics less, had they noted that the Douglas family held great estates in

Glasgow and Brechin. In 1358 he requested Edward III. to allow Scotsmen to attend the English Universities (*supra*, § 40, *n.* 9); we find him in 1362 assisting a young man in his University education (*supra*, § 39, *n.* 3), and in 1364 paying for the maintenance of a poor scholar, his relative ('Exch. R.' II., p. 168). In 1368 his minstrel, Thomas Roter, who no doubt played upon "la rote," is recorded as returning from France with four horses and a letter of exchange for £40 (Bain, 'Cal.' II., No. 141).

[7] The coinage of David II. represents such an immense advance artistically on that of his father that there is reason to suppose Royal intervention, and there is a curious tradition, repeated by Speed in his 'Theatre of the Empire of Britain' in 1611, that a vault under the Castle of Nottingham was carved with "the story of Christ, his passion," by David II. while a prisoner there ('Exch. R.,' II., p. xcii).

[8] Chaucer was present at the feast of St George at Windsor in 1357 as one of Lionel's pages, and was in his household in France in 1359. When Lionel wedded Yolande Visconti, daughter of Galeazzo, Lord of Pavia, at Milan, 1368, Froissart was in his suite (Froissart, 'Poésies,' i. (1870), p. 392).

[9] Barbour's words are—

> "Off *thaim* [Bruce and Douglas] I thynk this buk to ma"
> ('Br.' I 33).

Dr Neilson points out ('J. B.,' p. 5) that fifteenth century writers were well aware that the 'Bruce' was the story of King Robert *and* Douglas —*e.g.*, Wynt., VIII 3121; Bower, 'Scotichron.,' II, 301; Holland, 'Howlat,' 395, 507. The fame of Douglas was, naturally, less than that of the Bruce, and his more celebrated exploits took place *after* 1314: "præcipue post prælium de Stryveline . . . Anglici magis eum timebant quam cunctos de terra Scotiæ" (Knighton, i., p. 460).

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Barbour's archdeaconry, in Mar and the Garioch,[10] and that the "Archibald de Douglas," who obtained on the same day as he[11] a safe-conduct to St Denis, was the Black Douglas' natural son, himself "dark and ugly, more like a cook-boy than a noble" (Bower), Archibald "the Grim," sometime Constable of Edinburgh Castle, Aberdeenshire landowner, in later years Lord of Galloway,[12] and, from 1388, third Earl of Douglas. Since this great lord, who was not devoid of filial piety and founded a hospital in memory of his father and of Robert, Edward and Davy Bruce,[13] is one of the very few contemporaries of Barbour who appear in the 'Bruce,'[14] he may have shown some interest in his fellow-pilgrim's undertaking.

[10] The wife of William, the first earl (*d.* 1384), was Margaret of Mar [sister of Thomas, thirteenth Earl of Mar], who survived him, and married in 1388 Sir John de Swinton. She bore to Douglas a son (*d.* 1388) and a daughter, Isabel, who inherited the estates of Mar and Garioch. About 1373-4 the Earl of Douglas received the lands of his brother-in-law, and after 1374 he was styled Earl of Douglas and Mar (Maxwell, *op. cit.*, i., pp. 89, 93, 96). Barbour's friend, David de Mar, was no doubt a relative of the first Countess of Douglas (see *supra*, § 40, *n.* 5).

[11] See *supra*, § 42, *n.* 3. It is not proved that Barbour and Archibald "the Grim" went to St Denis at the same time or in the same group of pilgrims. Dr H. W. Meikle, who kindly looked into the matter for us, concluded that no deductions can be made from the proximity of their names in the list of safe-conducts. We may add that, strictly speaking, we have no proof that either went to St Denis, since it is one thing to apply for a passport and another to reach one's destination.

[12] Archibald was appointed, 18th September 1369, to rule Galloway, which in 1372 became united under him, as it had not been since the death of Alan (see *infra*, § 46, *n.* 16) in 1234 (Sir Herbert Maxwell, 'A History of the House of Douglas' (Freemantle), Vol. i. (1902), pp. xxxi + 293; Vol. ii., pp. xiii + 318; Vol. i., pp. 114-18 and 126).

[13] At Holy Wood, near Dumfries, in 1378, when Archibald prayed the Pope ('Pet.,' p. 358) to confirm the foundation and endowment of the hospital which Edward Bruce had intended to build and which had been delayed by the wars and by his death.

[14] After relating how the body of the Black Douglas was buried in the "Kirk of Dowglass," Barbour continues:

> "Schir Archibald his sone gert syne
> Of abalast bath fair and fyne
> Ordane a towme full richly,
> As it behufit till swa worthy" ('Br.' XX. 587).

Skeat's note explaining this as a mistake of Barbour's is quite erroneous, founded on one of Hume of Godscroft's inaccuracies. Barbour knew perfectly well that Archibald, who was held in high esteem by the clergy (see Wyntoun, IX 2016), was the son of the Black Douglas. The

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In short, it seems probable that the favour accorded by David II. and the House of Douglas to Froissart was not denied to Barbour.

The 'Bruce' thus was probably well begun when on 22nd February 1370-1 David II. died unexpectedly in the forty-eighth year of his age and the forty-second of his reign, when he had just begun to reform his ways, curb his more turbulent subjects, rebuild Edinburgh Castle and organise an expedition against the Infidel in expiation of his many sins.[15] He was succeeded by Robert the Steward, not without some opposition from the Douglas family.[16]

tomb is still to be seen in St Bride's Chapel at Douglas; see Maxwell, 'Robert the Bruce,' p. 362, who says that it was probably erected some years after the Black Douglas' death. It does not, however, at first sight seem likely that a magnificent tomb should be set up in the ancestral church by an illegitimate son, so long as there were legitimate Earls of Douglas in control, and it would follow (*a*) that it was not erected by Archibald until he became third earl in 1388, and (*b*) that the 'Bruce,' "compiled" though it was in 1375, cannot have been completed till after 1388. But Archibald was busied with his pious monument to Edward Bruce in 1378, and it seems natural that long before then he should have seen to his father's tomb. His great position, even before he became ruler of Galloway in 1369, would have excused the irregularity of the procedure, and Douglas had no legitimate son.

[15] "He was tane al to hastely" (Wyntoun's Collaborator VIII (C) 7201). On David's reforms in his latter and repentant days, Bower, 'Scotichron,' XIV, p. 380, is very eloquent. According to Stewart ('Bk. Cron. Sc.,' 55, 371) David had recanted on the question of an English successor, and (55403) at the close of his life "In policie . . . Wes occupyit, and all thing les and moir Reformit hes distroyit wes befoir."

[16] It might perhaps occur to the cynically-minded that the reason why Barbour distributed his labours so equally between Bruce and Douglas was that there was some dubiety till 1371 as to whose descendant would reign in Scotland after David II. But there was apparently never any doubt as to Robert the Steward's accession. The Historiographer-Royal (Professor R. S. Rait), who most kindly enlightened us on the somewhat occult circumstances, assures us that the Douglas claimant (William, first Earl) probably did not seriously aim at the Crown. The succession had been settled upon the Stewarts in 1318 by the Court of Parliament, which was not legislating, but giving a final interpretation of the law of Scotland. They had a claim which could be overset only by a revolution and a complete breach with the law—and the law upon a feudal question of succession, a region in which mediæval law was more likely to be respected than in any other. Further, in 1363, Douglas acted with Robert the Steward in his rebellion against David, which does not suggest any real rivalry between them, and by assenting to the proposal of an English succession he had repudiated any claim he might possibly put forward.

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Amid the miseries of the famine which marked the first five years of Robert II.'s reign,[17] Barbour continued to work at his double biography, interrupted by the duties of a new and exalted office, that of Auditor of Exchequer in 1372 and Clerk of Audit in 1373.[18] These duties required his presence at the capital in the spring of these years, and they must have made heavy calls upon his time. But by the spring of 1375-6 he had completed, or nearly[19] completed, his task.

§ 46. 1376-95: His Later Works: The 'Stewarts' Original.'

Robert II., first of the unhappy Stuart line, did not "discover" Barbour; he inherited him, and he discharged, besides many others, the debt which his predecessor owed to the historian of the Bruce.[1] But if Robert did not have the honour of encouraging budding merit, he was not slow to reward it when it flowered—and handsomely, for the purchasing power of the pound stood high in 1376. Before 14th March 1377 he bestowed a donation of ten pounds on the Archdeacon of Aberdeen, and on 29th August 1378, happening to be, as often, hunting at Braemar,[2] he awarded *dilecto clerico nostro* a pension of one pound per annum,[3] payable from the

[17] Maxwell, *op. cit.*, I, p. 89.
[18] The documents are printed in Skeat's ed. 'Br.,' Part III., p. xvii.
[19] See *infra*, § 48, *n.* 6.
[1] "Compotum . . . custumariorum burgi de Abirdene . . . Et domino archidiacono Abirdonensi, de mandato regis, per literam ostensam super compotum, x. li. ('Exch. R.,' II., 565).
[2] Robert II. was much given to hunting and hawking, and the 'Exch. R.' (see II, p. lxxxiv) chronicle many other visits to Kindrochit, the Castle of Braemar.
[3] This pension was declared later (officially) to be "pro compilacione libri de gestis quondam Regis Roberti de Brus." ('Exch. R.,' IV, 457, 520; 'Neilson, J. B.,' p. 43). It continued to be paid, no doubt, until the

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Burgh Funds of Aberdeen, with powers (doubtless at Barbour's own request) to bequeath it to his heirs and assigns, or to set it aside for the salvation of his soul.[4] This pension Barbour did so bequeath, soon afterwards at Rayne, 24th June 1380, to the Cathedral Church of Aberdeen.[5] He had now reached fame and fortune, and until 1388—Robert II. died in 1390—he continued to receive signal marks of Royal favour: the gift of a ward at Rayne, probably in 1380; a donation of five pounds on 30th March 1386;[6] one of £6, 13s. 6d. on 2nd April, apparently of the same year; and an annuity of ten pounds on 5th December 1388, payable out of the great customs of Aberdeen.[7] These appear to be chiefly rewards for literary services rendered to the Crown. If the favour of Robert II., so generously shown, made "his beloved clerk" [? of audit] neither Bishop nor Dean of Aberdeen[8] in 1380 or later—there was no lack of opportunities[9]—it was perhaps because King, Chapter—and Archdeacon—felt that a man of letters could do better national service as genealogist and historiographer.

Refreshed by Royal favour, Barbour turned his mind after 1376 to a matter which had not been one of his preoccupations while writing the 'Bruce.' There he had,

Reformation, as Prof. Innes says. The last mention we have ourselves noted is in the 'Aberdeen Register,' I, p. 55, 10th October 1494: "fra the collectouris of Old Aberdene, xx. s. for barbouris obeytis."

[4] 'Reg. Episc. Aberd.,' I, 129.

[5] Ibid., I, 130, quoted in full by Skeat, ed. 'Br.,' Part III., pp. xix-xx.

[6] Both "ex dono regis," Skeat, ibid., p. xxii.

[7] "Pro suo fideli servicio nobis impenso." Skeat, ibid., p. xxxiv.

[8] Bishop Alexander died in 1380, the year of the third visitation of the Black Death. His successor, consecrated before 16th November 1380, was Adam de Tynyngham, the Dean, "Roberto regi familiaris" (Boece, 'Vitae Episc. Aberd.,' Bannatyne Club, p. 17), who had been secretary to the Earl of Douglas in 1360. Bishop Adam (*d.* 1389) was succeeded by Gilbert de Greenlaw (*d.* 1421).

[9] The new Dean was Simon de Ketenes, "provided" on 16th November 1380 by Clement VII. (antipope). Dowden, 'Bps.,' pp. 116-17. He died 27th April 1387. Breviary, No. 27 in Miss Borland's collection.

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of course, mentioned Robert II.'s father, Walter the Steward, given him high honour for his conduct as one of the generals at Bannockburn and for his "richt gret defens" of Berwick, and twice lamented his death, "in the flour of his 3outheid,"[10] but had said nothing of his ancestry. Yet the new dynasty stood in need of some genealogical support. On the spindle side Robert II. was of glorious descent, since his mother was Marjory, daughter of the Bruce; but on the other side his origins were none too illustrious, for he was only ninth in descent of the Fitz-Alans who held the feudatory office of High Steward of Scotland. Barbour being, like his colleagues at St Machar's and elsewhere,[11] a genealogist, resolved to set the matter right, and successfully traced to Fleance and some fabulous Welsh progenitors the Stewarts,[12] who in sober fact were Fitz-Alans from Oswestry.[13] The date of this lost work is perhaps 1386, since the King's gift in that year would seem to be its reward. It is generally quoted as the 'Stewarts' Original,' but it does not follow from Wyntoun's words that this was its title. If it were,

[10] *d.* 9th April 1326 at the age of twenty-four. 'Br.' XVII. 933, and XIX. 214. Once would have sufficed!

[11] Fordun, who was probably a Canon of Aberdeen, affirms, ed. Skene (1872), II, p. 244, that Walter Wardlaw (see *supra*, § 40, *n.* 7) furnished him with David I.'s pedigree, 86th in descent from Pharaoh. See MacEwen, *op. cit.*, I, 299.

[12] Wyntoun, immediately after ceasing to quote the 'Bruce' and referring the reader to it for the events which happened thereafter, opens a chapter entitled "A computacion of lordis generacion," in which he traces (VIII (C) 985-1444) the descent of the Bruce from Malcolm, and for the Stewarts' origins refers his readers to Barbour:

> "The Stewartis Oryginalle
> The Archedeyne has tretyt haille
> In mater fayr, mayr wertusly
> Than I can thynk be my study,
> Be gud contynuacion
> In successywe generacion." (VIII (C) 1445-50).

[13] Walter, the first Steward of Scotland, was the younger brother of William Fitz-Alan of Oswestry. Bain, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

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the work must have been, like Wyntoun's, a chronicle.[14] There is reason to suppose that the 'Stewarts' Original' and the 'Brute,' with which Barbour has been credited on the sole authority of Wyntoun, are one and the same,[15] and there is little doubt as to the contents: much quotation of Geoffrey of Monmouth and the successive 'Brutes,' with the object of showing that the Stewarts, through Fleance, and possibly the Bruces, for the etymology is very tempting, descended from Brutus of Troy. The claim of the English monarchs to overlordship of Scotland being founded, *inter alia*, on the view that they were successors to Brutus, first King of all Britain, there were obvious advantages in assigning to the King of Scots the same status, or a better, by proving his lineal descent from Brutus.

[14] 'Original' was the title by which Wyntoun wished his own Chronicle to be known.

[15] We follow Amours here (ed. Wynt., I, p. lxxvi.), not Skeat, who thought that the 'Brute' and the 'Stewarts' Original' were separate works, both by Barbour. Wyntoun's words seem clear:

> "Off Brutus lynnage quha will heire
> Ȝe luke the tretiss of Barbere
> Made in till a genology." (Wynt. III 621).

The descent of Brutus was from Dardanus, who is usually called the son of Jupiter and Electra, but was, according to Wyntoun, and, presumably, Barbour, the son of Ninus, King of Babylon:

> "This Nynus had a sone alsua,
> Schire Dardane, lord of Frigia,
> Fra quham maister Iohne Barbour,
> That mekle couth of this labour,
> Translatit weill and propirly
> Fra this Dardane a genology
> Till Robert Stewart oure secund king."
> (Wynt. (W) II 131).

Wyntoun would appear not to pin much faith on "Dardane," nor did he see eye to eye with Fordun on these matters. He held that Albania remained "waste" (*i.e.*, without a King) till the coming of the Picts and Scots. Later, Hector Boece endeavoured to show otherwise that the Scots had never been subject to the Britons. But if the genealogists differed in the practice, they were at one in the theory—viz., that the Scots had never, never been vassals to England.

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In connection with these high matters Barbour had recourse once again to Geoffrey's 'Historia,' from which he had already borrowed the materials for a stanza in the 'Ballet.' The 'Stewarts' Original' is also linked with the 'Ballet' by another circumstance. In the 'Scotichronicon' Bower pointed out that Barbour had, in defiance of all chronology, sent a Sir Alan Stewart on the Crusade with Godefroi de Bouillon.[16] It is noteworthy, and we are surprised that the fact should have escaped attention, that this passage, beginning "Notandum est *barbarius*," immediately follows the 'Ballet' in the Edinburgh MS. Since we do not know the MS. history of either text, we could not attribute the 'Ballet' to Barbour on this evidence alone, but it may have some significance. The 'Stewarts' Original' being lost, it is impossible to say how far Bower's strictures are justified. But as this is not the only occasion on which Barbour has seemed

[16] Bower corrects Barbour, who (in the 'Stewarts' Original,' no doubt) had given a wrong account of the origins of that family. He maintained, says Bower, that the Stewarts came from Wales and took their descent from Fleance, that the first of them, Walter Stewart, lived in the days of William the Lyon (1165-1214) and combated Alan of Galloway, and that Walter's son, Sir Alan Stewart, was "in the Crusade with Godefroi de Bouillon, King of Jerusalem, at the capture of Antioch" (1098). Bower points out the discrepancy in these dates, and the fact that Alan died in 1233. Consequently, he continues, Barbour's Sir Alan Stewart could not have been the son of Walter Stewart, but might have been his father. The historical Walter Stewart was the son of Alan of Galloway, founder of Paisley Abbey (in A.D. 1164), and Barbour's Walter Stewart must have been some one else, whose identity Bower has been unable to ascertain. Lord Hailes, casting doubt on the Stewarts' alleged descent from Fleance de Waran, pointed out ('Ann.,' I, p. 358) that they were powerful in the reign of David I., but said that he could discover nothing of their previous history. But Mr Bain ('Exch. R.,' II, p. cv) shows that Barbour was, as usual, not so far wrong as his critics imagine. Fleance de Waran may be identified as Alan Fitz Flaald (of Shropshire, on the Welsh March), whose uncle, Alan FitzAlan, did go on the First Crusade.

Alan of Galloway (*d.* 1233) appears in French Romance as a descendant of Fergus. Guillaume le Clerc, a native of Picardy, who had come to England to seek his fortunes and proceeded to Scotland, wrote in Alan's honour the Arthurian romance of 'Fergus' (edited by F.-Michel, Abbotsford Club, 1841, and by Ernst Martin, Halle, 1872, xxiv+240 pp.; see 'Hist. litt. de la France,' XIX., pp. 654-55, and XXX., p. 160).

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to make free with chronology and confuse men with their grandfathers, we may fairly conclude that his idea was at least badly expressed, and that the Stewart connection with Godefroi, King of Jerusalem, victor of Antioch and one of the Noble Nine, was his own discovery, intended to bring the Stewarts close to the magic circle of the Nine Worthies, as the Bruce himself had already been successfully brought. Barbour thus exhibits in the 'Stewarts' Original' the same preoccupations as the 'Ballet,' in stanza ix. of which Godefroi de Bouillon did deeds of prowess "before Antioche . . . and of Jerusalem a ȝeir was kyng"; and was held up as a model to whom one might fairly liken the greatest occupant of the Scottish throne.

That Barbour collaborated in the translation of the 'Legends of the Saints,' which was probably begun at St Machar's before his death in 1395, is not in itself improbable. He who in 1380 had bequeathed his pension to the new, slowly rising Cathedral[17] may well in the evening of his days[18] have turned his powers as a translator of French to the lore of Christ and his Apostles Twelve. We do not share the orthodox view that Barbour died

[17] Begun in 1366, when the Dean and Chapter taxed themselves for the fabric to the extent of £60 per annum for ten years and the Bishop surrendered revenues worth £120. In 1380 the Pope made a grant of indulgences to all who would help, but only a few feet of wall had been raised before Barbour's death. It was left to Bishop Leighton (1422-40) to complete the wall of the nave, found the northern transept, and erect the two western towers (Jos. Robertson, 'Sc. Abbeys,' reprint, Aberdeen, 1892, p. 74).

[18] Barbour died on 13th March 1395, as proved by the documents: see Skeat, 'Br.' III, p. xxv. His age would then have been approximately seventy-nine on the assumption, made by Lord Hailes and usually accepted since his time, that he was born in 1316; seventy-five in Skeat's view; seventy in ours. The 'Encyclopædia Britannica' (1910) adopts 1316, but perhaps because by an unfortunate slip it mistakes the allusion to Robert II.'s age as "sexty" when the 'Bruce' was compiled ('Br.' XIII 705) for an allusion to the age of the author.

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in extreme old age, when his strength or his industry had forsaken him. We should, of course, as much as any one, like to think that he lived as the patriarchs of old. But the times were not conducive to longevity. Archdeacons are not venerable in age when they are appointed now; still less were they in 1357. The assumption that his portrait of Randolph, Earl of Moray (*d.* 1332) was drawn from life is mere nonsense, as Dr Jamieson pointed out a hundred years ago. The fact that the author of the Prologue to the 'Legends' could no longer "wirk As mynistere of haly kirke Fore gret eld and febilnes" and ". . . falt of sycht" is quite irrelevant, because there is no proof whatever that he was Barbour. Even were it relevant, "gret eld" is not what we mean to-day by "great age," and "falt of sycht" meant little when spectacles were not in common use. Barbour was still witnessing documents in 1392,[19] and the tone of the later references to him implies that he continued his professional duties to the end.

Nor do we believe that all the 'Legends' were translated from Latin. Many of them seem to us to be translated from French versions, as at least three-quarters of the 'Saints' Lives' extant in English are known to have been.[20] But serious linguistic and other difficulties have

[19] 'Reg. Epis. Aberd.,' I, p. 141.

[20] A common-sense view of the relative importance of Latin and French in this matter will be found in Professor A. T. Baker's "Saints' Lives written in Anglo-French," pp. 119-56 of 'Essays by Divers Hands,' being the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature, Vol. iv. (Oxford Univ. Press, 1924). Multitudinous details showing that the originals of the English Saints' Lives were usually French, not Latin, will be found in Vising, *op. cit.*, passim.

Reference to "the romance of the rose" in the fifth line of the Prologue is not a very auspicious beginning for those who believe in a Latin original. The editor, Dr Horstmann (see *supra*, § 29, *n.* 2), admits in his Preface that the 'Legenda Aurea' is only the ultimate source, and a glance at the Latin texts at the foot of his pages shows

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prevented Barbour's warmest supporters from ascribing to him more than a very minor part in that vast and dull compilation. Even Dr Neilson's none too fastidious search for "parallels" between the 'Bruce' and the 'Legends' yielded but a lean and dubious harvest,[21] except in the Lives of the two Saints most closely connected with Aberdeen, Ninian and Machor.[22] There both style and matter are strongly reminiscent of Barbour, notably in the mundane tale of 'Sir Fargus Magdonel'[23]

that they do not adequately account for the Scots. The vocabulary contains so strong a French element, including words not previously recorded in O.E.D.—*e.g.*, "encul3e" = to flatter, "menstrally," "merdaille," "pertrick," "ters" = TIERCE, "wantonly," "wesy"—as to suggest French originals.

[21] 'J. B.'—*e.g.*, pp. 22 and 34. If the comparison were extended to he 'Buik,' however, it would be more productive, as witness the subjoined list of similarities which we have noted, *en passant*, in turning over the pages of O.E.D. :—

S. L. S.	B. A.
That na man did him laith (*Alexis*)	Gif ony man did him laith (II 131)
As thingis beand at rebourse (*Katherine*)	All is at rebours (II 534)
Bot al ves in wast (*Lucy*)	It is all in waist=c'est parole gastée (III 6598)
Thane wes the tyrand vondir tene (*Margaret*)	Thairof that tyran is full tene (II 198)
Scho menyt ofte rycht sare a sone (*Mathias*)	And sum hir husband menit sare (II 4525)
I dred rycht small thine angelis (*Placidas*)	And he thame dreidit bot richt small (II 4504)

On the question of versification, Professor Saintsbury, 'English Prosody,' Vol. i. (1906) pp. 267-8, says: "The differences are small . . . I do not think that the run of the verse is so strikingly like Barbour's as to be an argument in favour of his authorship; but it is not sufficiently different to be an argument against it."

[22] Ninian and Machor are local Saints, in whom the author expresses special interest. 'Ninian,' ll. 39-57, and 'Machor,' ll. 333-53, are almost verbally identical; the relationship between these two "Lives" of Saints intimately connected with Aberdeen is extremely close (see ed. Metcalfe, S.T.S., 1886, Introd., pp. xx-xxi), and the style is very similar to Barbour's. Buss, *loc. cit.*, pp. 495 and 514, expressly excludes 'Ninian' when maintaining that the 'Legends' are not by Barbour.

[23] It would be possible to establish connection between Barbour and Sir Fergus if the latter were he on whose behalf David II. in 1364 petitioned the Pope ('Petitions,' p. 476) for dispensation to Fergus Makduell

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and his minstrel 'Jak trumpoure,' of which the scene is laid in Galloway "Quhene sir Davi Bruys ves kinge" (Ninian). 'Ninian' and 'Machor' appear to be Barbour's contribution, but even though the whole dreary corpus of 35,000 lines were proved to be his, it would add little to his reputation. Without the 'Legends' his industry is already beyond praise, his piety beyond dispute.

§ 47. Unity of Barbour's Work.

The authenticated works—the 'Buik,' the 'Ballet,' the 'Bruce,' the 'Stewarts' Original,' *alias* the 'Brut'—assume a perfect unity under one compelling cause, the master-force of Barbour's life, the desire to bring the resources of History, Romance, Chivalry, Legend and picturesque Genealogy to the support of the Scottish throne. All his works deal with the greatness of kings, from Brutus of Troy, first King of Britain, to Robert the Bruce and Robert the Steward. To exalt the victor of Bannockburn till he should rank with the noblest kings in history was the object of the 'Ballet,' as it was the object of the 'Bruce.' To endow the new dynasty with long and glorious descent was the purpose of the 'Stewarts' Original'; the history of the Scottish throne and nation from the fall of Troy was no doubt the high theme of that lost 'Brut.' It was Barbour's destiny—and it was his intention, however dimly felt—to revive the drooping spirits of his fellow-patriots and foster the growing sense of Scottish nationality by depicting a glorious

and Margaret, daughter of William de Coningham, Knight, who had married "in ignorance of the law." This dispensation was granted on the same day as one to John Waleys and Elizabeth de Eglinton. These ladies were apparently relatives of Sir Hugh of Eglinton or Cunningham, who was Barbour's colleague as Clerk of Audit (see *supra*, § 16).

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past. The means to that end was provided by his own natural tendency to associate national feeling with kingship (hence his chill silence on Wallace); in a more material sense, it was provided by his experience as a translator.

Of all these works—and we may add to them without much fear of error the 'Troy-Book'—the immediate or the ultimate source is translation. Like Chaucer and many another contemporary, he began as a translator and ended as an original writer. As he translated, he reflected. He caught the manner of French Romance and assimilated much of the matter, and then he addressed himself to the task of writing a Scottish epic.

The material for that epic he found in record and chronicle and in oral tradition, for the facts were fresh in living memory. That he had written sources is obvious from the close resemblances, often verbal, between his account of the main events and that given by other chroniclers, notably Sir Thomas Gray and Fordun. They must all have utilised the same documents. Even Jean Lebel refers to "une histoire faitte par le dit roy Robert." Gray, relating the adventures of the Bruce, begins "Qar com tesmoignent lez croniclis de sez gestis," &c. Fordun, Barbour's contemporary, tells us (ed. Skene, p. 341) that there were many stories of the Bruce's deeds in circulation in his day, and that they are "indubitably true," though he will not relate them because he is not sure of the time and place. When Barbour began the 'Bruce,' Bannockburn was not much more remote in time from Scotsmen of his generation than Sedan was from the French in 1914, when "auld and ȝing" were perfectly familiar with the chief episodes of the Franco-Prussian War. Had he begun to collect materials in the year in which he was made Archdeacon (which is

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unlikely), he could have interviewed veterans who had fought at Bannockburn; and if he had been (which he was not) avid of personal details, he had only to ride over from Rayne to Kildrummy or Chapel-of-Garioch and consult the Bruce's sister, Christian.[1]

His material he cast in the form of a Romance, because he read—and translated—Romances, and because his appeal was to the courtly public. In particular he knew well, having just been engaged in translating it, a Romance which was told "on sa gud manere" that it reduced its translator to despair, for it sang the renown of Alexander with more than native skill. He used it as a model, to be imitated from afar, and he laid under contribution the phraseology of his own translation, whole lines and couplets. Nor did he limit himself to that treasured store. Nothing that could enliven History came amiss: reminiscences of other Romances; knotty points of law, such as "clerkis questioun Quhen thai fall in disputacioun"; [2] pawky observations from the consistory court; pros and cons in the vexed questions of astrology, witchcraft and devilry, which were settled before our day and interest us not—and of matrimony, which is still with us; a fable or apologue, the 'Fox and the Fisher,' possibly from the Cathedral pulpit [3];

[1] See *supra*, § 43, *n.* 11.

Between 1338 and 1340, or 1355 and 1357, Christian of Bruyse, "domina de la Garuiach," and wife of the deceased Sir Andrew of Moray, Pantler of Scotland, gave to a chaplain performing religious services for the souls of the founder, her husband, and of King Robert her brother, a toft in Drumdurnach and 100 sh. sterling yearly from her land of Meikle Werthill, "infra predictum dominium nostrum de la Garuyach." ('Reg. Episc. Aberd.' I, p. 66.)

[2] As to what a thrall should do in a hypothetical and highly improbable case ('Br.' I 249) [which is debated in a whole book (ix.) of Thomas Sanchez' 'De Sancto Matrimonii Sacramento,' Venice 1625, as pointed out by Dr Neilson in the 'Furnivall Miscellany,' p. 383].

[3] Fables formed almost exclusively the mediæval preacher's stock-in-trade. Examples, including tales of Reynard of course, will be found in Lecoy de la Marche, 'La Chaire fr. au moyen âge,' Paris 1886,

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the sayings of Dionysius Cato, the doings of historical Counts of Flanders and of Artois. Much of this, the flotsam and jetsam of a life-time's reading, had an interest once. Some of it has an interest still. With the long excursus on Treachery, Barbour blackens the memory of Comyn and palliates, so far as a Churchman can, his hero's one wild deed; with the excursus on Freedom he gives lyrical expression to his own patriotic feeling. Wyntoun omitted these and the like when he transcribed part of the 'Bruce,' because he was not a Court poet concerned with the ancestral glories of the Royal house, and because they were no longer burning questions in his day. For us, as for Wyntoun, they are irrelevant. But they were not irrelevant for John Barbour, Archdeacon, nor for John Barbour, Patriot.[4]

To improve the 'Bruce,' to make it worthier of its lofty purpose, was the reason for his continual borrowings from French Romance, and for digressions which the modern reader may dismiss with an indulgent smile. But let us not make too merry over his thrifty use of oddments, his care to expound the self-evident, his praiseworthy efforts to beguile while instructing us. Above all, let us not call him, for that, an Aberdonian; to that title he has other and sounder claims. Many a more gifted writer has practised as cannily *l'économie de ses talents*, and been mindful not to leave collected material unused. The completest antithesis we can find to Barbour, Chateaubriand, had a thinly disguised "portrait of the

pp. xvi+547; pp. 302-5. Very few occur in M.E. literature; Wells, *op. cit.*, p. 181, says "scarcely a dozen," including Barbour's, those that have survived being almost all in French or in Latin.

[4] Once Barbour does excuse himself for irrelevance—for bringing in the story of Fabricius ('Br.' XX 562) after the account of the death of Douglas. "Laute" in Douglas and Fabricius was the cause of digression. The same trait in the character of Douglas also accounts for another digression ('Br.' I 364).

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author by himself" and a "storm at sea," which he used over and over again in various works, without offending the critics. Barbour was not a heaven-sent poet, and his guiding-star was patriotism, not art.

CHAPTER XII.: INFLUENCE OF THE 'BUIK' ON THE 'BRUCE.'

§ 48. Arrangement of the Subject-matter.

Turning back to the materials collected in Chapter V. and referring the reader to it for the detail, we must now endeavour to determine the extent to which the historical matter in the 'Bruce' is coloured by Barbour's work as a translator. Freely as he borrowed from his own translation of works composed years before Bannockburn by French poets who could not have pointed out Stirling on the map, he yet contrived to remain "soothfast," because in his time the facts of Romance were not markedly different from the facts of history. The single combats, raids, ambushes, pitched battles, &c., of the French romances which he had translated, proceeded in accordance with the art of war as practised in Scotland in the early fourteenth century. Thus the grimmest incident of the 'Foray' was re-enacted in 1332 by a Murray of Tullibardine, who brought back news of battle in as grievous case as Aristé.[1] The ladies on the

[1] "Ane of the Murrawis, [I] herd say,
Off Tulybardy be the waye,
His bowalis befor hym berande;
And son at hym he sperit tythande,
And he taulde how the feylde was gane."
Wynt. VIII (C) 3559.

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battlements at "Ephesoun" saw nothing worse than the Queen of England and her attendant maidens beheld from their oriel window at the capture of Stirling in 1304.[2] Sir Robert de Nevill, "the Peacock of the North," vowed in real life as boldly as he vowed in the 'Bruce,' or as Porrus in 'Les Vœux du Paon,' from which romantic abode William Marmion, Knight, of Lincolnshire, might have ridden forth, to "show his helmet of gold wherever glory was the hardest to be won"—viz., at Norham, where he was rescued by Sir Thomas Gray's father. To point out Barbour's indebtedness to his French models is not necessarily to diminish his credibility as an historian, which, indeed, is becoming more and more generally recognised.[3]

[2] On 21st April 1304 Edward I. began the siege of Stirling, which surrendered on 20th July. He had caused an oriel window to be made in his house in Stirling that the queen and her ladies might see the final assault. Bain, 'Edw. in Scotl.,' p. 43.

[3] Scepticism as to Barbour's credibility is due chiefly to his unhappy false start. The apparent confusion by which three distinct Robert Bruce's are rolled into one is certainly inauspicious, but that it does not impair the value of what follows, is recognised by most scholars:—

"Writing as he did at a long interval of time, . . . after King Robert's death, the arrangement of his story is often imperfect, the succession of events transposed, and wrong dates given, capable, however, of being corrected by other authority, and detracting little from the real historical value of the 'Bruce.'"—Bain, 'Cal.' III., Introd. "It gratified me in no small degree to find Barbour's story so closely in accordance with the English Records."—Bain, 'Edw. in Scotl.,' p. 57. "An historical document of the highest order."—Evan Macleod Barron, 'The Scottish War of Independence,' London (Nisbet) (1914), xxvi+499. Professor Tout is less enthusiastic: "His details are minute, but impossible to control by other sources, and he is more valuable as the epic poet of Scottish liberty than as an historical authority," *op. cit.*, p. 459.

Many of Barbour's statements which were at one time disputed have been confirmed by records subsequently discovered, and his details are often supported by contemporary documents. Thus, John of Lorne's attack on the Bruce at Dalry is confirmed by a letter of Edward I. to the Prince of Wales, dated 14th September, acknowledging John of Lorne's services. Bain, 'Cal.' II, 490.

The pursuit by John of Lorne with 800 Highlanders and a bloodhound that had once belonged to Bruce is supported by dry record. Pembroke's warrant providing pay to John of Lorne for 22 men-at-arms and 800 foot is still preserved. Bain, 'Cal.' II, p. 250; Maxwell, 'Dougl.' I, 35. Jean le Bel (I, xxii), says that Bruce was pursued "par chiens et limiers."

Barbour says that the battle of Loudon Hill took place on 10th May

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History, which provides the subject-matter of the 'Bruce,' also determines in great part its arrangement. Barbour's work, however, is not history: it is chronicle, in the form of biography. Rightly or wrongly, he conceived it as a biography of Bruce and Douglas, and the method of treatment which he adopted, and with few lapses pursued,[4]

1307, while the English historians say at the end of March, but two letters, both of 15th May, support Barbour. Bain, 'Edw. in Scotl.,' p. 57.

Of Barbour's list of Scottish prisoners taken at Methven one only, Sir Alexander Fraser, does not appear in the official record. Barron, *op. cit.*, p. 236.

Sir Robert de Nevill, the "Peacock of the North," declared that he was tired of hearing about the valour of Douglas, and vowed that he would attack him when he saw his banner displayed. Hearing this, Douglas went to Berwick and slew him. ('Br.' XIV, 416, 422, &c.) The incident is confirmed by a petition of Rauf de Nevill, his brother, to Edward II. in 1316, No. 527 in Bain, 'Cal.' III., and by other documents (Maxwell, *op. cit.*, I, p. 49).

Speaking of Douglas' mission with the Heart, Barbour says that he "left the Grunye of Spaynye." This is not "grund"="ground," as Skeat emends, but Corunna, still called by seamen "The Groyne." Bain, 'Edw. in Scotl.,' p. 80, *n.*

[4] Compared with other rimed chronicles, the 'Bruce' is not faulty in arrangement. The errors in Barbour are mainly these:

He states that, while Edward I. was besieging Stirling in the spring of 1304, James of Douglas was brought to Lamberton, Bishop of St Andrews, "as ane litill page." Since his mother died before 1288, Douglas could not then have been less than seventeen. Maxwell, 'Dougl.' I, 30, *n.* 2.

Bruce's alleged stay in Rathlin Island, 1306-7, is probably unhistorical. Bain ('Edw. in Scotland,' pp. 54 and 55) pointed out that Norway was a much more probable place of refuge, since Eric, King of Norway (*d.* 1299), had married in 1293 Robert's sister, Isabella, as his second wife, and in 1307 his successor, King Haco, was sheltering one of Bruce's adherents, the Bishop of Moray. Bruce himself probably went there, as stated by Fabyan and others. Trivet (p. 410) says that he fled "ad extremas regionis insulas," and Gray and Fordun say that he returned in 1307 from "the Isles." Mr Barron (*op. cit.*, pp. 249-56) shows that Barbour's description of the stormy crossing ill accords with a voyage of only thirteen or fourteen miles, that it would have been difficult to maintain Bruce's alleged 300 soldiers on an island of 6½ by 1½ miles, which was, moreover, exposed to attack. He suggests that Bruce went to Orkney.

[It was during the winter of this alleged stay at Rathlin that the famous episode of the Spider is said to have taken place. The story is told, however, not by Barbour, but by Hume of Godscroft, who made Douglas the hero of it (Maxwell, 'Robert the Bruce,' pp. 14, 16).]

The attack on the Castle of Brodick must have been led by Boyd, who was a Knight, and not by Douglas, who was knighted on the field of Bannockburn with Walter the Steward. Maxwell, 'Dougl.' I, 33, *n.* 3, and p. 45.

The second assault on Douglas Castle in 1307, for which Barbour is

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was naturally the chronological method. It is therefore idle to complain, as many do, if the grouping of the facts is inartistic, and maintain that a true poet would have led up to the day of triumph at Bannockburn and then hastened to ring down the curtain, before the anticlimax. Such treatment might have met the case of King Robert, but not that of Douglas; nor would this have been biography, which to Barbour and all his tribe meant the soothfast story of a hero, if not from the cradle, at least to the grave. In the execution of his task he was sore let and hindered by the intractability of the historical matter. About the youthful days of one hero, the less said was manifestly the better, for the Bruce would have had to appear now on the English, now on the Scottish, side. The point in his adventurous career at which the curtain were best lifted was clearly not when he was born, in 1274, but when, becoming by his father's death in 1304 one of the claimants to the throne, and by the murder of Comyn in 1306 the sole claimant, he was ready to step upon the stage as a patriot king, win through from adversity to fame and success and in due course die amid the lamentations of a grateful people. Within that period (1306-29) neither the entrance nor the exit of Barbour's second hero could

the chief authority, must have taken place *after*, not before as he says, the affair at Turnberry in February or early March. Maxwell, 'Dougl.' I, pp. 34-35.

Barbour's statement that John of Lorne was taken prisoner by Bruce and confined in Dumbarton Castle, and then in Lochleven, where he soon afterwards died, is incorrect. The elder Lord of Lorne died in Ireland, December 1310, and the younger lived seven years more as Admiral of the Western Seas under the King of England. Bain, 'Edw.,' p. 62.

Barbour says the siege of Berwick lasted only six days, Gray says eleven weeks. The town was captured on 28th March, but the castle did not surrender till 20th July—*i.e.*, after sixteen weeks. Bain, 'Cal.' III., 115; Maxwell, 'Dougl.' I, p. 50.

The alleged contradiction between 'Br.' II 239 and VIII 397 as regards the identity of Simon Fraser is effectually disposed of by Mr Mackenzie.

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well be brought about. His youth need not be passed over in embarrassed silence. It contained nothing worse than the sowing of some wild oats; and it would be a sorry biography which would end before his mission with the Heart and his death at the hands of Moors in Spain. Barbour's failure as a dramatist is due partly to the exigences of "soothfastness" and chronological order, partly to the initial choice of two heroes, and the subsequent addition of a third, Edward Bruce, who during much of the latter part of the action excludes all rivals from the stage.

For precisely the same reason, with the best will in the world, he could not follow either of the two French Romances in the arrangement of the subject-matter as closely as in the descriptive detail. But there can be no doubt that Barbour, fast in the bonds of chronicle, cast an envious eye on the Romance which, in the free realm of fiction, moved with such masterly ease towards its self-appointed climax, the 'Great Battle of Ephesoun.' In imitation thereof he went as far as chronicler durst go. He borrowed from it, and applied to Scottish scenes and to portraits and characters of Scottish worthies such decorative material as was historically applicable, expanding the 'Great Battle' of Bannockburn [5] till it dwarfed the whole biography, decorating his account with trappings from the field of Ephesoun and rounding it off (Br. XIII. 699-712) with a colophon, dated 1375. There the poet would fain have made an end, but the chronicler and biographer must continue, were it only because the public would ask for more. What of Edward Bruce, King of Ireland? What of the siege of Berwick,

[5] "Qwhen the gret battell on this viss
Wes discumfit" ('Br.' XIII 395).

"Bannockburn is, pardonably enough, told with too great prolixity, being so spun out as to fill more than 1800 lines." Skeat, 'Br.,' Vol. i., p. lxv.

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the coronation of David Bruce; and how did Robert, how did Douglas, die? In Part II., the inevitable sequel, Barbour still found his French models a very present help. By their aid he could develop the theme of Edward Bruce (of whose personality he seems to have known extremely little), liken his prowess to that of famous worthies, as he had likened him, for his courtesy (Br. IX. 612), to Emenidus and Gadifer, lay siege in the approved style to Berwick, produce, as required, suitable phrases for fields of carnage, Border raids, scenes of joy and sorrow, and at length bring the tale to a fitting close:—

> "Bot syne, allass! poysonyt wes he;[6]
> To se his ded wes gret pite.
> The lordis deit apon this viss."
> (Br. XX. 609).

If any man should ask (and many have since his day) why he should end thus abruptly, he could reply, "So endeth the 'Buik of Alexander'":—

> "He deit thare throw poysoning.
> It was great harme of sik ane thing."
> (B. A., IV. 11,135).

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[6] The Earl of Moray, of whom in this final conclusion Barbour uses the same formula as he had applied in his provisional conclusion, the first colophon, to the descendants of Bruce:

> "The gude erll gouernit the land,
> And held the pure weill to warand" (XX 603).
>
> "God grant that thai that cummyne ar
> Of his ofspring, maynteyme the land,
> And hald the folk weill to warrand!" (XIII 708).

Moray, like Alexander, was commonly said to have been poisoned, and, like the Emperor Henry VII. in the colophon of 'V. P.,' by a friar, "of black habite ane freir" ('Bk. Cron. Sc.,' 51,630).

We see no necessity for supposing that in the spring of 1376 only Part I. (*i.e.*, "Books" I.-XIII.) was complete, and perhaps "published separately." Nor on the other hand should we quarrel with Mr Mackenzie's view ('Br.,' note to XIII 705) that the poem was "finished somewhat later." If he means by "somewhat later" a matter of months, or even a year or two, this harmonises with our main contentions.

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§ 49. Descriptive Detail.

While respect for historical truth saved Barbour from undue influence in the shaping of his Romance, it allowed him to use without offence convenient formulas and general descriptive matter from the 'Buik.' In his first battle, that of Methven, he at once falls back on the 'Buik' for the telling details which eye-witnesses might have noted, and presumably did note, at Methven, as at any other battle, and which lay thick in the 'Buik,' couched in suitable terms, ready for instant use: the red blood on the green grass, the cries and groans, the mighty blows cleaving heads and eke shoulders, "chassaris" in hot pursuit of "flearis," &c. So also for the battle of Loudon Hill (May 1307), of which little is known except what Barbour tells us.

And so for Bannockburn. Many of the pictorial touches which had made the 'Great Battle of Ephesoun' live in Scots, served as well for another canvas: the careful preparations on the eve of battle, the ordering of the opposing forces, the approach of the enemy's cohorts glittering in the morning sun "like angels," their banners waving in the wind, their monstrous numbers, the quiet confidence and determination of the smaller host; the impetuous knight who, without waiting for the main attack, spurs forward between the lines to overthrow the leader of the opposing force and himself falls by that leader's battle-axe; the unhorsing of a great lord and the consequent dismay among his henchmen; the clash of arms, the red blood, &c. (as above), the lament for the slain, their decent burial.

These facts had been described before 1314 by a French

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poet exactly as Barbour describes them, but who shall say that they are thereby unhistorical or untrue? The chroniclers and the poets of the fourteenth century differed, and the historians still differ, on the incidents at Bannockburn.[1] Almost the only point on which they agree is the result! But does any one maintain that the Scots did not prepare for battle, that the English cavalry did not approach in great force, that their banners did not wave in the wind, that the red blood, &c. (see above) . . ., that the dead were not decently buried after the battle?

As a matter of sober history, Sir Henry de Bohun's skull actually was cloven by Bruce's battle-axe, though not perhaps quite as described by Barbour. This we know from an independent English source.[2] Incidents very similar to that depicted in the 'Bruce' occur at every moment in the French Romance, and Barbour had so frequently translated the account of them that the familiar phrases slipped out once again. But these phrases tell the broad truth—with possible minor exceptions. That Bruce's battle-axe was broken by the force

[1] Most of the English chroniclers confine themselves to the barest summary. Edward II. set out with a quite exceptionally large and splendid army, and a battle took place at "Stirling," "sed (proh dolor!) Scoti prævaluerunt, et occiderunt Gilbertum de Clare, comitem de Glovernia, Egidium de Argentein," &c.; here follows a long list of the slain and the captured. Few of the chroniclers descend to details, and those who do are sparing in them and may be quoting from each other, so that it is difficult to check Barbour's statements except those on the broad facts—which are not in dispute. Sir Thomas Gray could have been "documented" by his father, who saw the battle from the Scottish side as a prisoner. Barbour is in substantial agreement with Gray. The Scottish accounts are traceable to Barbour, perhaps occasionally to Barbour's unknown written sources. Fordun says very little of Bannockburn.

[2] Geoffrey le Baker, 'Vita Edwardi Secundi,' Rolls Ser., ii, 202, though the incident is somewhat different: when the vanguard were approaching Stirling "Henricus de Boun" followed some retreating Scots into a wood, thinking he might come upon the king there and slay him. But finding the wood held in great strength, he was on the point of withdrawing when the King himself appeared, and . . . "Henricus . . . redire volens ad socios equum retorsit; sed Robertus ei restitit et *securi quam manu gerebat caput ipsius contrivit.*" In 'Scalacronica,' p. 141, Bohun becomes Peris de Mountforth: "Où fu tué Peris de Mountforth, cheualer, dez mains Robert de Bruis d'un hache, con fust dit."

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of the blow and that he lamented its loss may, for all we know to the contrary, be true; but since both these details, unrecorded by any other chronicler, occur in the French poems which Barbour translated, we must assume that he found them there. They are not of much historical importance. We know from the same English source [3] that Gloucester was flung from his steed before the battle, and that this ill omen increased the already considerable depression in the English ranks. The chroniclers, Scots and English alike, agree as to the unusual splendour of Edward's cavalry, and, like Barbour, several say, and we can well believe, that the gilt helmets and breastplates glittered in the sun.[4] "Like angels" is perhaps excessive, though if, as Mr Mackenzie maintains, many of the cavalrymen wore white surcoats, there is some optical justification for the hyperbole. To ourselves the Angels of Bannockburn would not have been suspect, had it not been for the Angels of Loudon Hill.[5]

[3] Geoffrey le Baker, ii, p. 202.

[4] Trokelowe, Rolls Ser. (1866), p. 84, "writes up" the opening of the battle very much on the same lines as Barbour:

"Clangor enim tubarum et lituorum, hinnitus equorum, motio vexillorum, clamor exhortantium, qui in eorum congressu resonabant, corda poterant terruisse magnanimorum.

"Duces autem Scotorum, per turmas suas incedentes, exhortantur, ut pro sua et uxorum suarum, liberorum ac possessionum suarum defensione, certamen ineant justissimum, &c. . . .

"Et collidentibus ad invicem catervis, bellum cruentissimum commiserunt. Frangor lancearum, tinnitus gladiorum, ictuum strepitus repentinorum, gemitus morientium, vulneratorum lamentatio in ipso conflictu audita, aera perturbare videbantur."

[5] "The Yngliss men, in othir party,
That richt as angels schane brichtly" ('Br.' XII 426).

The same simile is applied to Aymer de Valence's force at Loudon Hill ('Br.' VIII 234).

The simile is paralleled in the French Romance, but there is no proof that it comes from there. It may spring not so much from the circumstance suggested by Mr Mackenzie (note to 'Br.' XII 426), as from the old pun, "non Angli sed Angeli," which the Carmelite Friar Baston, who was captured at Bannockburn, had in mind when he says: "Anglicolæ, quasi cœlicolæ, splendore nitescunt" ('Scotichron.' (1759), II, chap. xxii., p. 252). Bower himself (ibid., p. 309) remarks, in another connection, "Anglicus est Angelus cui nemo credere potest!" The early part of Baker's chronicle (which was widely circulated as 'Vita

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A more uncomfortable parallel is the ordering of the battle array on the eve of Ephesoun and of Bannockburn. King Clarus and King Alexander both distributed their forces on a plan which was nothing if not symmetrical. Each divided his army into six " battles " ; each " battle " was led by one of the outstanding warriors of the Romance, the first by the stoutest fighter of them all, and the last by the King himself, who brought up the rear with two trusted knights at his bridle-reins.

At Bannockburn the divisions are " battles " and their formation is the same, less symmetrical (it is hard to reconcile the conflicting principles of symmetry and immense superiority in the numbers of the enemy, and both were dear to Barbour's heart [6]), but yet with a certain neatness : four " battles " on the one side, the first led by Sir Edward Bruce, the second by Randolph, the third by Walter the Steward and Douglas, the last by King Robert in person, bringing up the rear with the reserves ; ten " battles " [7] on the other side, each exactly ten thousand strong, and Edward II., having assigned nine of them to his best leaders, drew up last his own " battle," and appointed two knights to be at his bridle-reins :—

" His awne battale ordanit he
And quha suld at his bridill be." [8]

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et Mors Edwardi II.,' and was long assigned to Sir Thomas de la Moor and so published by Stubbs in 'Chron. Edw. II.,' Rolls Ser., Vol. ii., pp. 297-319), mentions and apparently paraphrases Baston's poem :

" Vidisses prima nocte *Anglos haud Angelico more* vino madentes . . . E contra Scotos silentes sanctam vigiliam . . . jejunis celebrantes, amore patriæ et libertatis æstuantes. In crastino sol oriens in scuta aurea et galeas splendentes radios emisit."

[6] Bruce is attacked by 2 Macindrossers + 1 confederate (III 73), by 1 one-eyed man + 2 sons (V 485), by 3 men (+ 2 who attacked his attendant) (VI 622), by 3 traitors (VII 196), by 3 men with bows (VII 409). For the arithmetical proportion between Barbour's armies and their adversaries, see Skeat, Part III., pp. lxiii-iv.

[7] 'Br.' XI 155.

[8] Sir Giles de Argentine and Aymer de Valence.

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But Barbour's divergence from historical truth is probably slight. He exaggerates the enemy's numbers.[9] Their cavalry on the march from Berwick to Edinburgh certainly did not cover the hills and valleys ("Bath hyllis and valayes helit thai"—'Br.' XI. 184), whatever the troops of Duke Betis may have done at "Gadres."[10] But the division into "battles," their number and perhaps their strategical position, appear to be historical,[11] the picturesque minor details being Barbour's borrowings from his 'Buik.'

The burial of the dead after Bannockburn and after "Ephesoun" is suspiciously similar. Bruce's regret for

[9] Barbour estimates the English army as 100,000 fighting men, including 3000 heavily armed horsemen, 40,000 men-at-arms, and 50,000 archers, and the Scottish force at 30,000. Abbot Bernard of Arbroath credits the English with 3,100 horse and 40,000 foot. Geoffrey le Baker, p. 203, maintains that the Scots had a total force of 40,000. Modern writers make a much more modest estimate. Sir Herbert Maxwell, 'Dougl.' I, 42, computes 50,000 English and 20,000 Scots; Bain, 'Cal.' III., p. xxi, 50,000 English and 15,000 or 16,000 Scots, with large numbers of camp-followers in addition. Mr W. M. Mackenzie, the latest and best authority, suggests 20,000 English and 7000 Scots ('The Battle of Bannockburn,' Glasgow, MacLehose, 1913, pp. vii+111; pp. 30-32), which will, let us hope, be a final minimum.

[10] "The English horse came up the Tweed valley, whether starting as a whole from Berwick or in part from Wark *vîâ* Coldstream, and took the road through Lauderdale. Thus we see why it is that Barbour speaks of them as covering 'hills and valleys,' but says no word of the sea or of special difficulties on the track." Mackenzie, 'Bann.' 41. The real reason is that the host of Duke Betis in 'Li Fuerres' covered "all the hills and valleys."

> "The gude Emynedus beheld
> Thame of Gaderis our-tak the feild,
> That thikkar our the hillis did thraw," &c.
> =Et vit la gent de Gadres dont tout le val soronde (I 231),

and this suggests to Barbour a pictorial representation of the crude fact stated, *e.g.*, by le Baker, p. 101: "a Berewyk exivit et versus Stryvelyn iter arripuit." Bower also expands the fact, 'Scotichron.,' p. 249: "Sic quasi locustæ operuerunt superficiem universæ terræ quousque ad Bannockburn."

[11] "The Scots marched out in four divisions ('Lanercost' says in three, two in echelon, while the third followed under Robert). The English were drawn up in nine 'battles,' the tenth standing out from the rest." Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, p. 72. Geoffrey le Baker, p. 204, states that Sir Giles de Argentine was at King Edward's bridle, and, p. 203, that Gloucester led the van, after disputing the honour with Hereford. According to 'Scalacronica,' p. 143, Sir Giles demanded of Edward II. "que vostre reyne me fust baillez."

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Gilbert of Clare, Earl of Gloucester, and his care to have his body watched, find a close parallel in Alexander's concern for Clarus. But is there any reason to doubt that Bruce, like Alexander, could mourn for the brave who died in the opposing ranks? Gilbert was the most distinguished of the fallen, and heads the list in all the chronicles. He was Bruce's relative. An Earl of Gloucester, Gilbert's stepfather, had once saved Bruce's life.[12] Moreover, Wyntoun and Boece confirm the incident,[13] unless they are merely echoing Barbour. In any case, Bruce, whether he mourned exactly as Alexander or not, chivalrously sent Gilbert's body to Edward II.,[14] of whom he was the favourite nephew and the most trusted friend. It was buried in Tewkesbury Abbey ('Chron. Edw. II.,' R.S., Vol. i., p. 230), and the casket containing the heart, which was laid on his mother's coffin at the house of the Grey Friars in Cardiff, has recently been found.[15] The body of Sir Giles de Argentine also was duly cared for ('Scalacronica,' p. 142), and "lyis in Sanct Cuthbertis Kirk," Edinburgh.[16]

[12] See *supra*, § 28.

[13] For Wyntoun, see *supra*, § 29, *n.* 1. Boece, Fo. 303a, says that Bruce lamented Sir Giles de Argentine.

[14] Walsingham, 246: "Post bellum de Strivelyn, Robertus le Brus interfectorum spolia suis distribuit larga manu; captivos tractavit civiliter, corpora Comitis Gloverniæ et Baronis de Clifford transmisit Regi Angliæ, apud Berwycum commoranti, sine pretio, pro suæ voluntatis beneplacito sepelienda. Quibus ex causis, corda multorum in sui amorem allexit."

[15] "Interesting historical discoveries have been made as the result of the excavation of the House of the Grey Friars in Cardiff, which has been undertaken by Lord Bute . . . The vault at the east end of the wall contained a male skeleton. Later, traces of a second vault were discovered near the first vault, and near by a stone, which, on being cleared, was found to enclose a leaden casket containing a heart, and lying on a female skeleton. These are probably the skeletons of Gilbert de Clare (1243-95), Lord of Cardiff Castle, and his wife, the Princess Joan (*d.* 1304), daughter of Edward I., and the casket contained the heart of their son Gilbert who was slain at Bannockburn." 'Times,' 31st August 1925.

[16] Bellenden, quoted by Mr Mackenzie, ed. 'Br.,' p. 83, *n.*

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§ 50. Speeches, Portraits, &c.

The material for the "Addresses to the Troops" which King Robert delivers before his battles in the 'Bruce' comes largely from the 'Buik.' The speech at Loudon Hill (VIII. 235-64) is all in the best manner of the 'Buik,' some of it *verbatim*. The speech at Methven (II. 321-41) and the two speeches at Bannockburn (VIII. 235-70, and XII. 210-327) are compounded of extracts from the 'Buik of Alexander' and the Bible (Book of Maccabees).[1] This double source supplies with a curious monotony both the simple ideas and the soldierly words. The Book of Maccabees is the ultimate but not always the immediate source. Jacques de Longuyon had drawn upon it, directly or indirectly, with results of which Barbour gave in the 'Buik' the Scottish equivalent. That equivalent he utilised for the 'Bruce,' as was his custom, but he also tapped the main source. Hence he who though dead yet speaketh at Barbour's Bannockburn is not King Robert but Judas Maccabeus, sometimes as reported in the Bible, sometimes as interpreted by the combined efforts of a French and a Scottish poet, sometimes as supplemented from Barbour's own Biblical knowledge. The exact contribution made by each to King Robert's oratory we do not presume to determine, contenting ourselves with the remark that, while the greater part of the original 'Scots Wha Hae' (Br. XII. 234-48) comes straight from the Book of Maccabees, the passages enumerated in our list, on p. lxxxix, come straight from the 'Buik of Alexander.'[2]

[1] The verses concerned are: Macc., I. iii., 17-21, and iv., 17-18.

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As to the historicity of the speech, nothing is, of course, more probable than that the Bruce addressed his troops, or their leaders, before the battle, and in his address alluded to the circumstances in which they were fighting. These circumstances, whether he made this point or not, were in fact similar to those in which the Maccabees had fought. The general impression left by the contemporary accounts is that the moral force was felt to have been on the Scottish side of the field, the physical force on the other, and that every man of the smaller army realised he was fighting for home and country. After long years of suffering and slow success the fateful day had come. If freedom could be won, it was now or never. In that atmosphere of religious fervour and desperate resolve which the chroniclers describe or imply, allusion to the similar situation of the Maccabees was at the least extremely natural. Moreover, many of the preoccupations of Judas Maccabeus were also preoccupations of the Bruce. There was much need to guard against panic. The recommendation not to be dismayed by superior numbers but attack boldly was dictated by the peculiar circumstances, and the warning against that premature plundering which would make the

2

And *I pray* ȝhow als specialy	For-thy *I pray* ilk man that he
Both mor and less all comonly	Nocht couetous na ȝarnand be
That nane of ȝow for gredynes	To *tak* na *ryches* that thay wald,
Haf e til *tak* of thair *richess*,	Bot wyn of deidly fais *the fald*.
Na presoners ȝeit for till ta	Fra thay be winnin, all, wit ȝe weill,
Quhill ȝhe se thame cumrayit swa	The gudis ar ouris euer ilk deill,
That *the feld* planly *ouris* be.	And I quyteclame ȝow vterly
And than at ȝour liking may ȝe	Baith gold and syluer halely,
Tak all the richess that thar is.	*And all the riches that thairis is.*
('Br.' XII 303.)	('B. A.' III 7266.)

= Et pour Dieu, biaus seigneurs, ne soit nus entendis
A nul gäaing qui soit, ne du leur couvoitis,
Ains conquerons le champ aus morteus anemis !
Quant il sera vaincus, li avoirs iert conquis
Et je le vous quit tout et en fais et en dis,
Or et argent et pailes et les mors et les vis !

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hoped-for victory incomplete was only too necessary in Scottish warfare.

That these elements in the speech of Judas Maccabeus were appropriate to Bannockburn was proved also in the event. We know that the commander-in-chief, his lieutenants and the priests spared no effort to encourage the men.[3] Bannockburn was essentially the victory of a small but picked force fighting in a sacred cause. The victory was obtained not, as was long supposed, by defensive tactics but by bold attack.[4] After the day was won, Bruce's worst fears were realised, for, as an English contemporary admits, had his men not wasted their time in looting, not an Englishman would have escaped.[5] His triumph was later ascribed to his trust in God rather than in the numbers of a host,[6] and he himself was compared to Judas Maccabeus[7] in the noble letter addressed to Pope John XXII. on 6th April 1320 by the Barons of Scotland.

It is possible that Bruce quoted the Scriptures to the host, as many another Scottish commander has done "eftir that day and ȝit beforne." But there is no evidence that he did, other than Barbour's. The comparison with Judas Maccabeus appears to be unconnected in the minds of the Barons with any speech which he may have made to

[3] T. Walsingham, ed. Riley, R.S., 1876, p. 245: "Crastino vero, circa horam diei tertiam, Robertus . . . præcessit, pedes, Scotorum exercitum, dans illis exemplum, ut nemo de fuga cogitaret"; "Liber Pluscardensis," p. 248, "Omnes suos ante ingressum belli monere per ecclesiasticos viros facit." Similarly Abbot Bernard's poem (in Bower, p. 249), and Trokelowe (*supra*, § 49, *n.* 4).

[4] That the Scots took the offensive from the first and *attacked* is conclusively shown in Mr Mackenzie's study of Bannockburn.

[5] 'Vita Edwardi Secundi,' p. 206; cp. 'Br.' XIII 456:

"Thai dispendit haly that day
In spoulȝeing and richess taking."

[6] Fordun, in his brief account of Bannockburn, remarks (p. 347): "Rex Robertus, cum paucis occurrens, non in multitudine populi sed in Domino Deo spem ponens," &c.

[7] 'National MSS. of Scotland,' Part II., No. XXIV.

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the troops. When Bower identifies the Biblical text of the discourse, he is merely adding to his usual repetition of Barbour a reference supplied from his own Biblical lore.[8] Since the phrasing does service also for Methven and Loudon Hill, where the circumstances cannot have been the same, and since the ideas recur over and over again in the 'Bruce' as in 'Les Vœux du Paon,' the inference must be that Barbour utilised reminiscences of the 'Buik' and then eked them out with reminiscences of the Bible.

The same double inspiration must account for Barbour's marked insistence throughout the 'Bruce' on the fact, noted *ad nauseam* by Jacques de Longuyon, that the battle is not always to the strong:

"For multitud maiss na victory"
(Br. II. 330).

"For multitude in fecht oft failȝeis"
(B. A. I. 628).

"For the victory of battle standeth not in the multitude of a host." Quoniam non in multitudine exercitus victoria belli. (Macc. I. iii. 19);

on the military value of patriotism and a just quarrel, contrasted with the demoralising effects of the lust of conquest and mercenary aims, wherefore Bruce and Douglas may fitly be compared with the Maccabees;[9] on the overwhelming odds with which true heroism

[8] Bower, 'Scotichron.,' mentions in his account of Bannockburn that Bruce quoted Macc. I., "illud primum Machabæorum," and cites the lines iii. 20, "Ipsi veniunt," &c., and 21, "Nos vero pugnabimus"; see 'Athenæum,' 2nd Feb. 1901; and letter from "D.H.M.," ibid., 28th Feb. 1901.

An older and quite different version of Bruce's Address at Bannockburn is given by Abbot Bernard of Arbroath; see G. Neilson, 'Scots Antiquary, July 1890. 'Blind Harry' (VI 515-27) puts into the mouth of Wallace a speech very similar to Barbour's. The oration in Boece, Fo. 302a, is a more ambitious effort, but contains the same thoughts as in the 'Bruce'—*e.g.*, "Nihil vero vbi Deus propitius est, hostium potest multitudo," and Stewart's version thereof ('Bk. Cron. Scot.,' line 50,014, &c.) is highly embellished, the Bruce being seated upon a throne! In both, the "heads of the discourse" and many of the phrases come from Barbour.

[9] 'Br.' I 464-76.

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contends and which in the case of Barbour's heroes,[10] and of Judas Maccabeus,[11] are consistently ten to one, a proportion which also commends itself, though perhaps not quite so uniformly, to his French prototypes.[12] That such ideas are suggested to Barbour, not by mother wit but by specific literary works, is sufficiently plain from their context and wording—*e.g.*:

> "And nocht-for-thi, thocht thai be fele,
> God may rycht weill our werdis dele;
> For multitud maiss na victory,
> *As men has red in mony story*,
> That few folk [oft has] wencusyt ma."
> (Br. II. 328).

The 'Buik' also provides Barbour with the framework into which an anecdote or dialogue may be fitted—*e.g.*, whether the archer's target be a Traitor or a Peacock, the method of dispatch is the same;[13] with materials to eke

[10] *E.g.*, 'Br.' XII 565.
[11] 'Br.' XIV 316.
[12] Examples of the fondness shown for the number ten in 'F. G.,' 'V. P.,' and even more conspicuously in 'B. A.' and 'Br.,' are collected by Neilson, 'J. B.,' pp. 30-31.
[13]

Thiddirward vent his page & he . . .
"Quhat vappyn has thou?" "A! schir! perfay,
I haf a bow, bot and a vyre."
"Give me thame smertly baith."
"A! syre,
How-gat will ȝhe than that I do?" . . .
He tit the bow out of his hand,
For the tratouris ves neir cum-and . . .
He tasit the vyre and leit it fle,
And hit the fader in the e,
Till it rycht in the harnys ran.
('Br.' V 588-625.)

With that, ane chyld besyde him went
With ane stain-bow in hand all bent . . .
"Len me that bow!" "I grant," said he;
He tuke the bow and taist it sone,
And thairin hes ane pellok done . . .
The poun he hit richt on the hede
Quhill on the stane the harnis glede.
('B. A.' III 5083-5103.)

= Atant es .i. varlet d'encoste lui passant,
Qui porte un arc d'aubour . . .
"Preste moy cel arçon!" "Sire, je le creant."
Et Porrus si prent l'arc, et le va entesant,
Dedens la coche mist .i. caillioucel pesant . . .
Le päoncel ataint en la teste devant,
Les iex li fist saillir, le cervele en espant.

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out the conventional descriptions of May, which seem so curiously out of place in the narrative of stark encounters, but are really (as in the French) the recognised prelude to an account of some new enterprise;[14] with phrases for the siege of Berwick, which, however, is described much as in the chronicles;[15] with comparisons, some apologetic, as in the French, for with Hector and Alexander no man, not even Douglas, not even Bruce, can quite truthfully be compared, others free of that saving clause; with epithets or traits of character, transferable from Alexander the Large to Douglas, who retained no booty for himself, or from wicked King Clarus to Edward I., who was as "fell, pautener, cruell." The French prototypes set the example also for expansions which the modern historian leaves to the reader's imagination. The hero has occasion to move rapidly from one place to another. A horse being found, he "leaps on him deliverly." The good steed must have a name. Barbour did not know—who could in 1375?—the name of the palfrey lent by Bishop Lamberton of St Andrews to the youthful Douglas, and he called him "Ferrand," after Emenidus' charger in the 'Buik.'[16] Great events must be predicted. When the King was watching for the fateful beacon at Turnberry, his hostess foretold a happy issue to his arduous enterprise,[17] just as Alexander, at the beginning of 'Les Vœux,' had heard that in the end he would be successful in his war on Clarus.

One step farther takes Barbour over the border-line

[14] When Bruce goes to Carrick (although the vernal scene depicted ill accords with the hour of departure: "A litill forrow the evyn," 'Br.' V 17), and when he goes to Ireland in support of Edward Bruce ('Br.' XVI 63).

[15] "Vita Edwardi Secundi,' p. 242.

[16] Thow sall tak Ferrand my palfray ('Br.' II 118).

[17] 'Br.' IV 638-61.

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between truth and legitimate fiction [18]—*e.g.*, when to give a portrait of Douglas [19] he combines Porrus with the Poor Knight, as sketched in the 'Buik,' and adds, "As thai that saw him said to me." [20] This vague remark may be conventional or may be disingenuous, but is nevertheless not wholly devoid of truth. The amalgamated portrait from the 'Buik' does little more than expand into several lines the fact that Douglas was the "Black" Douglas. That fact was notorious, and had no doubt been related to Barbour, as to every one else, by Douglas' contemporaries. Since "Ector had blak har as he had" [21] —and, like Douglas, lisped (on the authority of Guido, in the original of the 'Troy-Book')—the way lay open for a lengthy comparison of Douglas with Hector of Troy. It is remarkable that this harmless loan from the 'Buik' should be singled out as "a portrait drawn with that affectionate and minute fidelity which stamps upon it the rare merit of truth," [22] and that the passages most frequently quoted [23] as the finest in the 'Bruce' should be precisely those which are most closely copied from the 'Buik.' To use to such purpose one's own translations

[18] The "example" of Tydeus ('Br.' VI 179-284) —to give only one case of borrowings from other sources than the 'Buik'—is so "pat," and illustrates so exactly what it purports to illustrate (Bruce's stand against 200 men of Galloway—'Br.' VI 25-173), that the alleged incident must be constructed from the example.

[19] 'Br.' I 381.

[20] 'Br.' I 388.

[21] 'Br.' I 397.

[22] P. Fraser Tytler, 'Sc. Worth.' I, p. 407, and 'Hist. Scotl.' II, (1841), p. 6. It is, moreover, accepted without question by Sir Herbert Maxwell, 'Robert the Bruce,' p. 364. But as a matter of fact it does not quite tally with the other portrait of Douglas (XX 511-15): "of little effer wes he" (XX 515) contradicts "off lymmys he wes weill maid, with banys gret and schuldrys braid" (I 385-86).

[23] *E.g.*, by Skeat, ed. 'Br.,' and Craigie, 'Sc. Rev.' (1893), p. 187. The purple patches which, if those influenced by the 'Buik' were withdrawn, would remain to Barbour's credit, pending further inquiry, are the panegyric on Freedom, the Fire at Kildrummy, the Voyage to Rathlin, Bruce and the Laundress, the Fox and the Fisher.

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from French is no small literary achievement. If in the interests of readability the good Archdeacon strays sometimes from the paths of truth, it is seldom very far. In essentials his work is "soothfast," as he wished it to be; in form and tone it is, as he justly terms it, a "Romance."

CHAPTER XIII.: THE LANGUAGE OF THE 'BUIK.'

§ 51. Modernisation of the Original Text.

In view of the paucity and insecurity (see Chapter VI) of the early Scottish texts available for comparison, it is impossible to determine the extent to which the 'Buik' as originally composed has been modernised, whether by scribes or printer.[1] The orthography was no doubt partially assimilated to that of 1580, as happened, *e.g.*, in the case of *Rauf Coilȝear*, which exists only in a printed copy of 1572, or of the 'Bruce' as it appears in Hart's print of 1616. But this assimilation must have been relatively slight, because the forms subsist which Murray enumerates[2] as distinguishing

[1] The works chiefly consulted for the purposes of this chapter are J. A. H. Murray, 'The Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland' (London: Asher), 1873, vii + 251 pp., and G. Gregory Smith, 'Specimens of Middle Scots' (Blackwood), 1902, lxxv + 374 pp.; also, J. W. Bearder, 'Ueber den Gebrauch der Præpositionen in der altschottischen Poesie,' Diss. Giessen, 1894, 102 pp.; F. J. Curtis, 'Investigation of the rimes of "Clariodus,"' Diss. Halle, 1894, 53 pp.; H. F. Fiby, 'Zur Laut- und Flexionslehre in Barbour's Schottischen Legenden,' Programm, Brünn, 1888-9, 25 pp.; M. Kolkwitz, 'Das Satzgefuege in Barbour's Bruce,' Diss. Halle, 1893, 56 pp.; P Müller, 'Die Sprache der Aberdeener Urkunden,' Diss. Berlin, 1908, 143 pp.; F. H. Sykes, 'French Elements in M.E.,' Oxford, 1899, 64 pp.; W. Muehleisen, 'Textkritische, metrische und grammatische Untersuchungen von Barbour's Bruce,' Diss. Bonn, 1913, xiv + 222 pp.

[2] 'D. S. Sc.,' p. 35; *e.g.*, the *ai*, *ay*, and *ei* of the 'Middle' period have not wholly superseded the older *a* and *e*; dede, wele, kepe, thar, exhibited in Wyntoun's excerpt of the 'Bruce,' are found in the 'Buik' alongside M. Sc. deid, weill, keip, thair, which largely replaced them in the 1489 MS. The past tense in *-d*, *e.g.*, assemblyd (Wynt.) becomes *-t*,

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"Early" from "Middle" Scots. There are a few traces, such as an occasional also, quho for the older alsa and quha, of the marked assimilation to English spelling produced in the sixteenth century by the use of English books,[3] notably the English Bible. But these are in the nature of unconscious alterations or misprints, and the spelling is in general agreement with that of the MSS. of the 'Bruce,' of which some apparent misspellings are curiously paralleled—*e.g.*, dois= "dies" (I. 651) and amourus, II. (Prol.) 23 = amouris, suggesting closeness to the original MS. of the 'Buik.' Arbuthnet, however (as indicated in the Notes in Vol. IV.), occasionally substituted more modern forms of a word—*e.g.*, he "corrected," despite rime, Greions="Greeks" IV. 8953 to *Gretians*, a sixteenth century form not attested till 1547 in O.E.D.

We find no evidence either of any attempt to remove dialectal peculiarities and make the text conform with a central standard.

The state of the Scottish dialects in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, the peculiarities of regional pronunciation, and the extent to which these are reflected in early literary works, are not sufficiently well known for us to determine thereby the local origins of the 'Buik.' It is idle to expect in the works of the courtly Archdeacon much trace of the local peculiarities of Aberdeen, some of which, moreover, are modern—*e.g.*, the North-Eastern Sc. pronunciation of *wh* as *f* is not shown in Mid. Sc. orthography.[4] But it is interesting to note that "blude"=BLOOD, riming with ȝeid (I. 1654), recalls the well-known Aberdonian "bleid," and is actually so written (I. 1544), and that *beit*=BOOT, sb. "advantage," rimes with sueit=SWEET (II. 2471) [cp. N.E. dialect: "into the *beit* and the bargain" (II. 2792)], and that some elements in the vocabulary are not recorded outside the Aberdeen Council Register: "deray," an erroneous form of ARRAY sb. (II. 2792) [the Register has "in their best deray"]; "melȝe"=MELLE, a cloth of mixed colours; "his leggis ware arrayit in melȝe of fyne hew" [the Register has "the price litting of the stane of mellay hew, xxii. sh."], while for "perk"=a pole (IV. 9210) and "warpiss" (I. 1657) O.E.D. quotes only the 'Legends of the Saints' and the 'Aberdeen Register.'

as in the MSS. of the 'Bruce.' No importance attaches to this, as the use of *-d* may be only an idiosyncrasy of Wyntoun's: see Craigie, 'Sc. Rev.' (1897), p. 54. The frequency of excrescent *l*, as in chalmer (see 'D. S. Sc.,' p. 54), is a sign of M. Sc. orthography.

[3] 'D. S. Sc.,' 65.

[4] Ibid., 54.

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§ 52. VOCABULARY.

The vocabulary coincides in great part with that of the 'Bruce.' Barbour's pet words, like his pet phrases, occur in the 'Buik' with a frequency on which we need not insist here, as it is sufficiently indicated in the glossary and in the notes, where interpretation of the text is continually facilitated by reference to the 'Bruce.' Words which modern lexicography has traced back to Barbour, but no further, duly appear in the 'Buik'; of these, some, now commonplace, were no doubt in unrecorded use before his day; but others, which have remained rare and which are almost always of French origin and are sometimes suggested by the French text, are presumably his own direct borrowings. The mass of striking similarities with the vocabulary of the 'Bruce' is so overwhelming that little importance attaches to the fact that some words and forms found in the 'Bruce' are curiously absent.[1]

WORDS IN THE 'BUIK' FIRST RECORDED IN THE 'BRUCE.'

A. COMMON WORDS.[2]

ANSWERING, *vbl. sb.*; ARMING, *vbl. sb.*; assailȝearis = *pl.* of ASSAILER; ASSEMBLING, *vbl. sb.*; auysit = *pa. pple.* of ADVISE; auysitly, *adv.* = ADVISEDLY; awent, *v.* = AVENT;

[1] It would be instructive, though laborious, to invert the method which we have adopted and make a list of words present in the 'Bruce' and conspicuously absent in the 'Buik.' We note among those not satisfactorily accounted for by the subject-matter of the 'Bruce' (see §§ 26 and 34): *atour* = "military equipment," 'Br.' XVII 717 (also in Caxton); *bait* (A litill quhile thai baitit thar), 'Br.' XIII 599; *in apert* = "openly" ('Br.' XIX 27); to "occupy" land, frequent in 'Br.' (and in other fourteenth century texts—*e.g.*, 'Morte Arthure' 98:

> "To ansuere anely why thow occupyes the laundez
> That awe homage of alde till him and his eldyrs").

It would also be interesting to make a list of words conspicuously absent from both texts, such as roy = "King," which was in common use —*e.g.*, in 'Morte Arthure' and 'Wall.,' but apparently not in Barbour or Wyntoun.

[2] For references and quotations, see the Glossary in Vol. iv. and O.E.D., *s.v.* The form in which the word appears in O.E.D. is added in small capitals.

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BOLL, *sb.*; CHAIP, *v.*; chaissing, *vbl. sb.* = CHASING; communite, *sb.* = COMMUNITY; CONTRARY, *v.*; DISCONFORT, *sb.*; disheris, *v.* = DISHERISS; distrubling, *vbl. sb.* = DISTROUBLING; dushis, *pl.* = DUSH; eird, *v.* = EARTH; GREATUMLY, *adv.*; hartfully, *adv.* = HEARTFULLY; hindmaist, *adj.* and *adv.* = HINDMOST; ingreif, *v.* = ENGREVE; ISHING, *vbl. sb.*; leiftaking, *vbl. sb.* = LEAVE-TAKING; MANRENT, *sb.*; MISTER, *v.*; na wis, *adv.* = NOWISE; newlingis, *adv.* = NEWLINGS; pennoun, *sb.* = PENNON; perfurneis, *v.* = PERFURNISH; persauing, *vbl. sb.* = PERCEIVING; pryse, *v.* = PRIZE; quhein, *adj.* = WHEEN; recowering, *vbl. sb.* = RECOVERING; rigorusly, *adv.* = RIGOROUSLY; ROD [= path] *sb.*; samyng, *adj.* = SAMEN; schore, *v.* = SHORE; sloppis, *pl.* = SLAP; STAMPING, *vbl. sb.* [= "trampling"]; swak, *sb.* = SWACK, *sb.*: suaked, *pa. t.* = SWACK, *v.*; sufficiand, *adj.* = SUFFICIENT.

B. Rare Words.

B. A.	O.E.D.	Instances recorded in O.E.D.
abandounly, *adv.*	= ABANDONLY	only 'Br.' and 'Wall.'
barblit, *pa. pple*	= BARBELED	only 'Br.' and 'Caxton.'
barnie, *sb.*	= BARNE	only 'Br.' and S.L.S. ('Baptista').
colle, *sb.*	= COLEE	a blow (in battle): 3 quots. The other two (*c.* 1430 'Pilgr. Lyf. Manhode,' and *c.* 1450 'Mirour Saluacioun') refer to the dubbing of a knight.
cowardy	= COWARDY	'Br.'; *c.* 1386, Chaucer 'Knt's T.'; *c.* 1440. Partonope; 1536 Bellenden. 1578.
Intermelle, *adj.*	= INTERMELLE	only 'Br.'
,, *sb.*	...	MS. E of 'Br.' and 1535 Stewart 'Cron. Scot.'
irously, *adv.*	= IROUSLY	'Br.'; *c.* 1450 Lovelich, 'Grail'; *c.* 1475 'Partenay.'
mardale, *sb.*	= MERDAILLE	'Br.'; S.L.S. (Ninian); 1687 Clevedale.
mauite, *sb.*	= MAVITE	only 'Br.' in O.E.D. The word, however, occurs in Wyntoun.
reconforting	= RECOMFORTING	'Br.'; 1423 Jas. I. 'K. Q.'; *c.* 1550 in 'Dunbar's Poems'; 1611 Cotgrave.
renoune	= RENOWNE (E trisyll.)	'Br.'; *c.* 1385 Chaucer 'L.G.W.'; 1513 Dougl. 'Æn.'
rimmill, *sb.*	= RIMMEL	'Br.' and *c.* 1450 Holland 'Howlat.'
sarray, *adj.*	= SARRAY	only 'Br.'
stalwartly, *adv.*	= STALWARTLY	'Br.'; *c.* 1400 'Destr. Troy'; 1475 'Rauf Coilȝear'; 1887—Dicts.
stokking, *vbl. sb.*	= STOKING (f. STOKE, *v.*[1])	only 'Br.'
tropell, *sb.*	= TROPEL	'Br.,' and *c.* 1400 'Laud Troy-Bk.'

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The words which are absent from the 'Bruce,' and which we tabulate below in the chronological order of their recorded appearance elsewhere, are of varied importance. Those first registered in the fourteenth and early fifteenth century are of no great interest, because a few years' difference is immaterial, and the dates are often only approximate. Of those which in lexicography must be called "late fifteenth or sixteenth century words," but in fact may be much older, some occur chiefly in translations from French, notably in Caxton, and are often accounted for by that fact; others are compounds, like "tale-telling" and "cherry-stone," of which the date of appearance in English is difficult to determine precisely; and others again are original only in form, such as "dukery" (DUCHERY being in the 'Morte Arthure'), or new adverbs formed from very old adjectives.

The words which are absent not only from the 'Bruce' but from all other known texts are, when not explainable as above, nonce-words coined by a translator in distress, mere Scotifications of French terms.

We append the results obtained by checking the vocabulary on the O.E.D. that readers may form their own opinions, and that we may indulge in the pastime, growing daily more strenuous, and likely, with the appearance of the Supplement, to become impossible, of capping the earliest example in O.E.D. with a yet earlier one, and producing words that had escaped the all-seeing eye of the great dictionary [3]:—

EARLIEST RECORDED APPEARANCE ELSEWHERE OF WORDS IN 'B. A.' BUT NOT IN THE 'BRUCE.'

FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

1377 Langland	tunicall, *sb.*	=TUNICLE
c. 1380 'Ferumbr.'	perroun, *sb.*	=PERRON
,, ,,	quaif, *sb.*	=COIF
c. 1380 Wyclif	cressand,	=*pres. pple.* of CREASE
1382 ,,	coustumit, *ppl. a.*	=CUSTOMED
1386 Chaucer	varnist, *ppl. a.*	=VARNISHED
1387 T. Usk	intermellit,	=*pa. pple.* of INTERMELL
1389 in 'Eng. Guilds' (1870)	listis,	=*pl.* of LIST
1398 Trevisa	nobillite, *sb.*	=NOBILITY
,, ,,	starting, *vbl. sb.*	=STARTING
c. 1400 'Burgh Laws'	ioys, *v.*	=JOISE
'Destr. Troy'	sport, *v.*	=SPORT
,, ,,	stythly, *adv.*	=STITHLY
'Morte Arthure'	rashes,	=*pres. t.* RASH, *v.*[1] to rush
'Troy-Bk.'	vmest, *adj.*	=UMEST

[3] We are much indebted to the Editor, Mr C. T. Onions, for purging our list of several words which we had been unable to discover in O.E.D., but which he successfully showed it to contain, and of several would-be "earlier instances," which he rebutted, very gently.

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FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

1412-20 Lydgate 'Chron. Troy'	haitfully, *adv.*	=HATEFULLY
,, ,, ,, ,,	syper, *sb.*	=SINOPER
1419 'Liber Albus'	stain-bow, *sb.*	=STONE-BOW
c. 1420 'The Avowynge of King Arthur'	avowing, *vbl. sb.*	=AVOWING
,, 'Anturs of Arth.'	startand, *ppl. a.*	=STARTING
c. 1425 Wynt. [O.E.D. 1513, Dougl. 'Æn.']	canous, *adj.*	=CANOUS
c. 1425 Wynt.	chad-melle, *sb.*	=CHAUD-MELLÉ
,, ,,	coft	=*pa. t.* of COFF
,, ,,	raid, *sb.*	=RAID ("foray")
,, ,,	vame, *sb.*	=WAME
,, ,,	warsling, *vbl. sb.*	=WRESTLING
c. 1430 Lydgate	fete, *adj.*	=FEAT
c. 1430	masoned,	=*pa. pple.* of MASON
c. 1440 'Gaw. & Golagr.' as *sb.* [1448 'Ld. High Treas. Accts.' as *adj.*]	bloncat, *adj.*	=BLUNKET
c. 1440 'Promp. Parv.'	letter, *sb.*	=LITTER
c. 1440 'Gesta Rom.'	alphyne, *sb.*	=ALFIN
c. 1440	vmbethinking, *vbl. sb.*	=UMBETHINKING
1449 (but cp. REPROVABLE *adj.* 1340 Hampole)	repreuabilly, *adv.*	=REPROVABLY
1432-50 *tr.* 'Higden'	inclusit,	=*pa. pple.* of INCLUSE
,, ,,	intromettit,	=*pa. t.* of INTROMIT
c. 1400-1450 'Alexander' (the only instance quoted by O.E.D.)	clap, *v.*	=CLAP, "to embrace"
,, ,,	cod, *sb.*²,	=COD, *sb.*², "a cushion"
,, ,,	tyrlis, *sb.*	=TRELLIS, "a latticed window"
c. 1450 Henryson	conqueis, *v.*	=CONQUEIS
,, Lovelich 'Grail'	affraying, *vbl. sb.*	=AFFRAYING
c. 1450	medecyne, *sb.*	=MEDICINE, *sb.*², "a doctor"
c. 1450 'St Cuthbert' (Surtees)	glaidfully, *adv.*	=GLADFULLY
1456 Sir G. Haye, 'Law of Armys'	lymmar, *sb.*	=LIMMER
,, ,, ,,	sumpart, *adv.*	=SOMEPART
1460 Earl Marche in Ellis 'Orig. Lett.'	euill-willeris	=*pl.* of EVIL-WILLER
c. 1460 'Towneley Myst.' (only instance in O.E.D.)	indoissit,	=*pa. pple.* OF ENDOSS
,, ,,	abasitly, *adv.*	=ABASEDLY
c. 1470 Henryson	seindill, *adv.*	=SENDLE
c. 1470 'Wall'	gorgettis,	=*pl.* of GORGET
,, ,,	scry, *sb.*	=SCRY
,, ,,	splendris,	=*pl.* of SPLINDER
,, ,,	stoneis, *v.*	=STONISH
1480 Caxton	disprysit,	=*pa. pple.* of DISPRIZE
1481 ,,	musardy, *sb.*	=MUSARDY
1483	sporting, *vbl. sb.*	=SPORTING
,, 'Cath. Angl.'	warrit,	=*pa. pple.* of WAR, *v.*², to worst
1486 'Bk. St. Albans'	bastardy, *sb.*	=BASTARDY
1488 'Acta Audit'	warrandyse, *sb.*	=WARRANDICE
14— 'Dietary' in 'Br.'	grounch, *v.*	=GROUNCH

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14— 'How Gd. Wife' in 'Br.'	moy, *adj.*	= MOY
1491 Caxton	malancoliand,	= *pres. pple.* of MELANCHOLY
14— in 'Tundale's Vis.'	noblenes, *sb.*	= NOBLENESS

SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

1513 Dougl. 'Æn.'	douncome, *sb.*	= DOWNCOME
" " "	huly, *adj.*	= HOOLY
(as *adj.*, *c.* 1340 Hampole)		
1530 Palsgrave	according, *vbl. sb.*	= ACCORDING
" "	doggitness, *sb.*	= DOGGEDNESS
1548	battreis,	= *pl.* of BATTERY
1549 Coverdale	tantingly, *adv.*	= TAUNTINGLY
1556 but cp. TALE-TELLER, 1377, Langland	tail-telling, *sb.*	= TALE-TELLING
1559 Sackville	inthyrllit,	= *pa. t.* of ENTHRILL
1565 Lindesay (Pitscottie)	dukrie, *sb.*	= DUKERY
1589 but cp. AMEL, *c.* 1340 'Gaw. & Gr. Knt.'	esmale, *sb.*	= ESMAYLE "enamel"
1590 Shaksp. 'Com. Err.'	chirrie-stane,	= CHERRY-STONE

LATER.

1614 Selden	feid,	= FEUD, *sb.*[2] "lordship"
1842 Tennyson, 'Mem.'	tuinfold,	= TWINFOLD
1845 (only quot.)	knychtfully, *adv.*	= KNIGHTFULLY
1868	quarraled	= QUARRELED, *adj.*

WORDS IN 'B. A.' NOT RECORDED IN O.E.D.

Antife, *adj.*, "antique"; basing, *vbl. sb.*, f. base = BASH, *v.*[1] "dismay"; disagysitly, *adv.*, "in a feigned manner," but cp. DISGUISY, *adj.* Br. and disagyse, sixteenth century Sc. form of DISGUISE, *v*; herauld, *sb.*, "old man" (? play upon HERALD); herefurth, *adv.*, ? "lately"; largite, *sb.*, "liberality" tr. *largetés*; limmounis, *sb. pl.*, "shafts" tr. *limons*; mynȝeotly, *adv.*, "gracefully"; neif-stainnis, *sb.*, "stones thrown by hand"; pensoun, *sb.*, "paunch"; rioting, *vbl. sb.* (f. RIOT), "ravaging of a country" [F. MSS. *rioter*; cp. RIOT = to harry, Br.]; ruffell, *sb.*, "a slight wound," (f. RUFFLE *v.*[2] "to handle roughly" Br.); schip-grome, *sb.*, "boatman"; soldie, *sb.*, pay, tr. *saudée*; tyre, *sb.*,[2] silk cloth from Tyre, tr. *Tyr*; vmbestrade, *pa. t.*, "bestrode."

Some words are used in peculiar senses, often paralleled in the 'Bruce,' sometimes scarcely anywhere else. The significance of this fact will appear from the two lists below. A distinction of sense first recorded in Barbour is likely to be of his own making, and when it is made also in the 'Buik,' with or without prompting by the French, it throws some

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light on his thought and style. The senses which are paralleled not in the 'Bruce' but elsewhere, and those which are apparently peculiar to the 'Buik,' are mostly due to imitation, more or less direct, of the French text, and to the exigences of translation:—

SENSES FIRST RECORDED IN BARBOUR'S 'BRUCE.'

Buik of Alexander, Glossary.	O.E.D.	Sense.
anger, *sb.*	=ANGER	*pl.* with *sing.* meaning. Only 'Br.'
apertly, *adj.*	=APERTLY	sense 3 O.E.D. ,, ,,
arest, *v.*	=ARREST	*trans.*
chais, *v.*	=CHASE	sense 1[d] O.E.D., "to pursue," *intrans.* or *absol.*
chaissaris,	=*pl.* of CHASER	sense 2 O.E.D., "one who pursues."
charge, *v.*	=CHARGE	sense 10 O.E.D., "to press hard" (in battle). Only 'Br.' and 1568 Grafton.
conqueir, *v.*	=CONQUER	sense 2[d] O.E.D., "to gain honour."
festning, *vbl. sb.*	=FASTENING	"imprisonment."
instrumentis	=*pl.* of INSTRUMENT	"engines of war."
iolely, *adv.*	=JOLLILY	sense 3 O.E.D., "finely." Only 'Br.'; 1426 Audelay; *c.* 1640.
leif, *v.*	=LEAVE	*trans.* "to send away, dismiss," not in O.E.D., but in 'Br.' XX. 315.
maieste, *sb.*	=MAJESTY	"sovereign (temporal) power."
manteme, *v.*	=MAINTAIN	*refl.* "to conduct oneself."
martirdome, *sb.*	=MARTYRDOM	sense 2 O.E.D., "slaughter."
recomfort, *v.*	=RECOMFORT	"to put heart into," *trans.*
refuse, *v.*	=REFUSE	sense 3 O.E.D., "to shirk."
shamefull, *adj.*	=SHAMEFUL	"ashamed."
sterand, *adj.*	=STIRRING	sense 2[b] O.E.D., of horses: "spirited."
trauersit	=*pa. t.* of TRAVERSE	"to go across," *intrans.*
vmbecast, *v.*	=UMBECAST	sense 3 O.E.D., "to consider." Only 'Br.' and Wynt.
waiffand,	=*pres. part.* of WAVE	sense 1 O.E.D. (of a banner).

SENSES FIRST RECORDED IN 'B. A.'

Earliest Instance in O.E.D.	Glossary.	O.E.D.	Sense.
c. 1380 'Ferumbr.'	antiquiteis	=*pl.* of ANTIQUITY	sense 4 O.E.D. "olden time."
c. 1400	birth, *sb.*	=BIRTH	sense 3 O.E.D. "young of animals."
1415 Sir T. Grey	lousing, *vbl. sb.*	=LOOSING	"release."
c. 1425 Wynt.	fede, *sb.*	=FEUD	sense 2 O.E.D. "mutual hostility."
,, ,,	plummettis	=*pl.* of PLUMMET	sense 3 O.E.D. "knob (on a hilt)."

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Earliest Instance in O.E.D.	Glossary.	O.E.D.	Sense.
1438 'Buik of Alexander'	sonȝe, *sb.*	=SONYIE	sense 1 O.E.D. "excuse."
c. 1438	carpet, *sb.*	=CARPET	sense 2 O.E.D. "floor-carpet."
c. 1450 Henryson	heidit, *pa. pple*	=HEADED	sense 2 O.E.D. "tipped."
c. 1450 'Ratis Raving' (the only instance in O.E.D.)	misterfull, *adj.*	=MISTERFULL	"necessary."
c. 1455 Paston 'Lett.'	shot, *sb.*	=SHOT	sense 8 O.E.D. "range."
c. 1450 'St Cuthbert'	stour, *sb.*	=STOUR	sense 2 O.E.D. "a struggle with pain."
1456 Sir G. Haye, 'Law Arms'	,,	,,	sense 5 O.E.D. "dust."
1470 Henry 'Wall."	sonze, *sb.*	=SONYIE	sense 2 O.E.D. "delay."
1489 Caxton	mynȝeot, *adj.*	=MIGNOTE	"dainty."
c. 1500 'Lancelot'	nece, *sb.*	=NIECE	"nephew."
1501 Dougl. 'Pal. Hon.'	disseit, *pa. pple*	=of DIZZY	"to make dizzy."
1513 Dougl. 'Æn.'	leid, *sb.*	=LEED	"language, tongue."
1535 Stewart 'Chron. Scot.' (as *adj.* Chaucer)	bay, as *sb.*	=BAY, *adj.*	"bay horse."
1587 Fleming, 'Contn. Holinshed'	avowery	=AVOWRY	sense 6 O.E.D. "vowing."
1590 Spenser	sweaty, *adj.*	=SWEATY	"covered with sweat."
1601 Shaks. 'Jul. C.'	enclosit, *pa. pple*	=of ENCLOSE	sense 6 O.E.D. "to surround (in battle)."

Senses not recorded in O.E.D.

? Conjure, *v.*, "to press hard in battle"; gage, *sb.*, "reward"; mariner, *sb.*, "boatman," tr. *marinier*; short, *v.*, "to amuse" [= to beguile, c. 1400 onwards O.E.D.]; sikkerness, *sb.* = SICKERNESS, "defensive armour"; stering, *vbl. sb.* = STEERING, ? "line of march"; warrandy, *sb.* = WARRANTY, "protection" *gen.* [only legal in O.E.D., 1338 onwards].

Words in Phrases.

That phrasal power in Barbour is somewhat marked would appear from Mr F. H. Sykes' interesting study.[4] It is difficult, however, to arrive at much certainty on this subject,

[4] *E.g.*, p. 14, where numerous examples are given of noun + verb.

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because it is hard to say when a concatenation of words becomes a phrase, and because (no doubt for the same reason) less help than usual is provided by the O.E.D. We note below (*a*) phrases which seem characteristic of, but are not peculiar to, Barbour; (*b*) others which are first recorded in the 'Bruce'; and (*c*) some which are not found there, so far as we have observed:—

(*a*) PHRASES CHARACTERISTIC OF (BUT NOT PECULIAR TO) BARBOUR'S 'BRUCE,' FOUND ALSO IN 'B. A.'

BR.	B. A.
to do chivalry: Thai saw Thar fayis ridand . . . Willful *to do chewalry* (II 342)	Worship to do and cheualry (II 1455)
to make a course: Till thame all ane *courss he maiss* (XVII 316)	Emynedvs his cours maid weill = Bien vot E. son poindre par-furnir (I 1367)
at all device: The king . . . wes vicht and viss And richt vorthy *at all deuiss* (XI 348)	Courtes, douchty at all deuyce (II 2012)
And *held* him lelely *his fay* (XIII 545)	haldand thair fay (III 7576)
Gyff thow wald *kep thi fewte* (I 427)	Now will I . . . keip my fewte with thame (III 6908)
Than sprent thai sammyn *in-till a lyng* (XII 49)	rushit togidder all in ane ling = brochent ensemble (IV 9337)
In-myds the visage = "face to face" (XII 576)	(I 122, 2842)
without (also *but*) *ransom* = "irremediably" slayand thame without ransoune (XIII 72)	Outher sall thay all ouris be, Or we sall all die but ransoun (I 498)
to make rescours = to rescue And quhen the king thaim *maid rescours* (III 76, XII 369)	(I 44, 2134)
on raw = "in a row" Thai stude than rangit all *on raw*, Reddy for till byde battale (XI 431)	His princes and barrouns standand on raw = entour lui environ (III 8012)
We haf *tynt* this *trauell* (VII 45)	May nocht mis honour na tyne trauell (II 396)
to have victory (I 473)	(II 2800, III 6687)
to have the war = "to have the worst of it" Bot thar bowmen *the wer* had ay (IX 159)	The wakar sone the war can hait (I 1782)
of war = "in a hostile manner" Thai justit . . . *of weir* (XIX 787)	And he to him come, as of were [Not in F.] (II 1226)

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(*b*) PHRASES IN 'B. A.' FIRST RECORDED IN THE 'BRUCE.'

For the examples, see Glossary, s.v. ***answer, answering, hynder, mak, new, put, set, vailȝe, vnder.***

To make answer, answering; to make arrest = "to stop"; this hinder day = "a few days ago"; to make of some one = "to esteem highly"; of new = "of late"; to put agane = "to drive back"; a set battle = "pitched"; at under = "in an inferior position"; vailȝe quod vailȝe = "whatever be the consequences." Cp. Br. IX. 147: Bot gif othir wald thame assalȝe, Thai wald defend, avalȝe que valȝe [MS. E. wailȝe que wailȝe].

(*c*) PHRASES FIRST RECORDED IN 'B. A.'

EARLIEST REF. IN O.E.D.					
c. 1380 Wyclif	to set to sale ("to put up for sale")	see Glossary, *s.v.*			SAILL
c. 1386 Chaucer 'Sqr's. T.'	the maister tour	,,	,,	,,	MAISTER
c. 1400 'Destr. Troy'	in peirt ("openly")	,,	,,	,,	PEIRT
c. 1440 'York Myst.'	to make room ("to make way")	,,	,,	,,	ROUME
1500 'Three Kings' Sons,' E.E.T.S. [but the phrase occurs in Wynt. VIII 900]	hand in hand	,,	,,	,,	HAND
c. 1556 'Aurelio & Isab.'	to make the wheel (of a peacock) [There is a reference to the peacock's "wheel" in Douglas, 'Æn.' XII. Prol. (ed. Small), Vol. IV., p. 85, l. 10].	,,	,,	,,	QUHEILL

§ 53. GRAMMAR AND SYNTAX.

The Article.

Ane is found in all positions representing the earlier *ane, an, a.* The use of *ane* before a consonant, extremely rare till c. 1475 and not established in literary usage till c. 1500,[1] is no doubt due to a late copyist or to the printer. But assimilation to sixteenth century usage has been less complete than in, *e.g.*, the 1572 print of 'Rauf Coilȝear,' and a few examples

[1] See Murray 'D. S. Sc.,' 57. In the 'Bruce' *an* before *n* is common —*e.g.*, ane narow place; see 'D. S. Sc.,' p. 55, *n.* 2.

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of *a* remain which escaped notice—*e.g.*, A poynt (I. 1112 and 2280), a deill (II. 4930), cp. Ane poynt (I. 3087). Sometimes *a* has been altered to *ane* too hastily—*e.g.*, Ane back (I. 2409) is for Abak = ABACK, *adv.*, ane mendis (II. 738) = AMENDS, and some hesitation appears in ane seage (II. 275), ane assege (II. 201), the latter line being faulty.

The Indefinite Article is occasionally omitted, all the more easily no doubt because of the corresponding custom in French, in phrases like—

And ask answer quhat we sall do (II. 403).
War I woman, I durst weill say (II. 4819),

and very generally after *as* in comparisons like—

as douchty knicht (I. 2099; cp. II. 4469).
as gude vassale (I. 2548); cp. as gud nychtbur (Br. I. 87).
as man of mane (I. 2620, 2702).
Thay smot togidder as tempest (I. 2326).

The Definite Article is omitted (as always in O.F.) with the name of the inhabitants of a country—*e.g.*, Gretians (I. 2036), Gaderains (I. 3094) [so 'Wall.' VII. 483, Sotheroune]; but used (as in French) with abstract nouns, occasionally—*e.g.*, I hait the weir and luffis the peis = Car moult desir *la* pais et *la* guerre m'anoie (II. 4824).

The Noun.

The undeclined possessive is limited to a few examples: "his sister [= sister's] sone" (I. 686), "his hors hede" (II. 1205). The types "at the battell beginning" = a l'estor commencier (I. 736), "at the day rising" (II. 3962), "before the sone rysing," are special cases of this usage, however, being accounted for in the French, which uses infin. + sb. with the same sense. Also due to French influence is the habit of omitting a preposition with proper nouns—*e.g.*, the palace Jupiter, the tempil Venus (Diane, Marcus), chalmer Venus. The singular is oddly substituted for the plural, to suit the rime:—

And knichtis lyand in blude be dosin (I. 2538).
And all the douzepeirs and barroun: *rime* Emynedoun (II. 316).

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To the latter example a somewhat analogous case can be quoted from 'Sir Orfeo,' 201, where renouns = renown is used merely to rime with barouns. Apposition is sometimes indicated by the Gallicism "of," suggested obviously by *de* in the French original :—

Of douchty man is nobill thing (II. 355).

Cp. the pleonastic use of "body" = "self" (O.F. *cors*) : ony ane manis body (I. 3178), Gaudefeirs body (II. 4265).

The Adjective has occasionally the force of a substantive, *e.g.* :—

sa riche and sa mychty As he . . . (II. 3238).

"That auld," "that sueit," &c., is general M.E.

The Personal Pronoun.

The pleonastic use is common, as in M.E. :—

Thus as he spak, the King of pris (II. 219) ;

That bourd or it be assayit,
The Indeans sall be full affrayit (III. 7823) ;

of Grece the cheualry,
Thay war affrayit (I. 317) ;

"Se my neuoy, how he stonayis
3on Gaderanes . . ."
= "Veés de mon neveu, com se vait contenant"
(I. 1349) ; so I. 1228, II. 472, 474.

The Pronoun is, as in O.F., frequently omitted :—

Quhen Licanor had hard this saw,
For propir tene began to thraw (I. 257, 3044) ;

Quhen Porrus hard, had matelent (II. 4579) ;

how him befell (II. 4666) ;

"My freind sall be that may it speid!"
(II. 4975) ;

on Grecians leid,
That wele couth speke and wittely
= quar bel le sot parler
(III. 7588) ; cp. III. 8060.

The odd use of *him*, "Him durst lytle drede 3on great deray" (II. 2792), if not a printer's error, might be accounted

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for by confusion with "him thocht" = seemed; cp. thame semyt (Br. XII. 147).

The Relative.

The practice of omitting the Relative must be remembered in sentences like—

> And of the gude thairof micht fall (II. 2178).
>
> The Kingis sonnes, at the hunting had bene (II. 2680).
>
> My hart is he dois my bidding (III. 7261).
> = moult sera mes amis
> Qui fera mon conmant.

The frequent use of "sic . . . that" = "one who"; *e.g.*, in—

> For *sik* man wenes weill that he is worth,
> *That* failȝeis all quhen he cumis forth (II. 4255)

is amply paralleled in O.F. (and Mod. F.: *Tel qui* rit vendredi, dimanche pleurera).

Quha requires no antecedent; cp. O.F. qui = si l'on; *e.g.*—

> Quha had ane scheild hale, may fall
> That sone sall be to-fruschit all (I. 2208).

The use of *quha* as simple relative in place of the earlier *at* appears first in Henryson, where, however, it may be due to later copyists, and becomes frequent from c. 1540 [2]; it is not found in our 'Buik.'

Quhilk, occurring in the 'Bruce,' though rarely,[3] is frequently used in the 'Buik,' and occasionally takes the plural form *quhilkis*, found in the Old Scottish Laws (end of the fourteenth century).[4]

[2] 'D. S. Sc.,' 69.

[3] Kœppel, 'Engl. Stud.,' X. 381, says that 'Br.' XVIII 225 is the only example of quhilk used otherwise than in the form *the quhilk that*, and Mr Mackenzie therefore adopts there the reading of E, "And that." But *quhilk* occurs = "which of two" in 'Br.' I 77, where it is confirmed by Wyntoun.

[4] *E.g.*, all playntis the quhilkis ar in burgh, *Leges Quatuor Burgorum* vj., in 'D. S. Sc.,' 32.

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The Verb.

The ending of the Present Participle, normally *-and*, as in Early Sc., is found occasionally as *-ing—e.g.*, Sporting (II. 3788), probably due to the printer.[5]

The Past Participle has an excrescent final *-g* in becumming (IV. 10,874), numyng (II. 4718), rysing = "risen" = *levés* (II. 4072).

The form *houin* (III. 6251), pa. pple. of HELE, *v.*[1] to conceal, did not, according to O.E.D., survive the fourteenth century.

In the first person singular a differentiation is made, the form in -is being preferred in the second of two co-ordinate clauses :—

Now pray I God and makis my mane (II. 2099);

Than I now think, and thinkis eft (II. 2417);

I hait the weir and luffis the peis (II. 4824);

I am ane man of mekill eild,
And thinkis . . .
= Viex sui de grant viellece
Et . . . je cuide . . . (III. 7393).

[Cp. Br. XII. 294 : I trast, and trowis sekirly.]

The Historic Present, which is so marked a feature of the 'Bruce' (Buss, *loc. cit.*, p. 507), is common.

The Present is used in the sense of the Future :—

And will ȝe, schir, do this erand,
ȝour saull ȝe bring to lyfe lestand (I. 600);

I do it nocht for all paradice
Before that . . .
= Je nel feroie mie . . . Devant que . . . (I. 770);

Quha met with him, I tak on hand
Thay haue of him sic ane menȝeing
= Qui tel le vuet atendre, de la mort le semon
(I. 1312);

Thay come doun ay tua and tua=venront (II. 541).

The Past, similarly, may take the place of suld=SHOULD :—

And gif I fleand fra ȝow ȝeid,
I seruit ȝow of euill seruice (I. 768).

[5] The distinction between the pres. part. in *-and* and the gerund in *-ing*, lost in Southern English before 1300, was retained in Northern English till the sixteenth century ['D. S. Sc.,' 210], and in Scots till much later.

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The Infinitive has often a passive force :—

This message is to refuse (I. 370) ;
To loif thow is (I. 1070) ;
The laif are nocht to dreid greatly
(I. 1927) ; so II. 2514, 2704.

Some strained uses are due to the French, *e.g.* :—

For to dreid [= by dreading] deid sa grittumly
May fall bot shame full sikkerly
= Quar de trop cremir mort ne vient se honte non
(I. 649).

The phrasal power of " make " is considerable :—

mak sembland (III. 5107 [so Br. VIII. 238]) ;
mak dule (IV. 10,810) ;
mak wa (I. 1530), &c.

The form " be " is freely used :—

Quhan I haue bene in sic ane fray
That my sheild *be* to-frushit all . . .
And arme and shoulder all bludie *be* (I. 468-71) ;

it is often interchanged with *is* (am), *e.g.* :—

Quhan I am stad as I ȝow say,
And I than prayit *be* (I. 871),

where " And " can scarcely = " If " [cp. " I am traistar . . . Than [= Than if] I into ane castell ware (I. 788)], and *vice-versa* :—

Gif he *be* tane and *is* nocht dede (II. 4873).

" Mycht " = " mycht have " occurs (as in the ' Bruce ') :—

Our help mycht lytill the availȝeit. (II. 1196).

Syntax of THAT.

In the syntax of subordinate clauses, certain strained or elliptical uses of *that*, borrowed from French syntax,[6] are noticeable :—

1. = " of such sort that," connecting somewhat vaguely with what went before—

And on ane gude steid als sat he
That nouther king nor empriour
Mycht better haue in stalwart stour.
= emperere ne rois nul millor ne demant (I. 1148).

[6] French parallels to the five uses enumerated here will be found in great numbers in our '*Syntaxe de la Conjonction* "Que" *dans l'ancien français*' (Champion, 1907), xxviii + 197 pp.

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2. Omitted after *than*—

Me had leuer with dule and cair
Be deid, than thay vnsaiȝeit be (I. 618).

3. (*a*) Substituted for the normal Infinitive—

The King forbad his men ilkane
That nane sould chais
=Al. deffent que nus n'en soit chaciés (IV. 9518).

(*b*) = THAT, sense 4f. O.E.D. [Instead of infin. a clause is used as if *semis* had been impersonal].

Sic . . . That semit thay wald be at assay (I. 316).
And be ȝon semis richt wele that he
Of wit hes ȝarnessing plente,
= Et il semble a cestui, qui est de sens garnis,
Que ce soit grans hounourz, grans sens et grans porfis
(II. 3281).

[The only early example of this construction in O.E.D. is Br. III. 168—

ȝone knycht . . . tournys sa mony tyme his stede
That semys off ws he had na dred.]

4. *That . . . na*, also *na* alone = Que . . . ne—

Was nane sa hardy of that rout
That he *na* than to die had dout
= il n'i ot si hardi, n'eüst de mort doutance (I. 1965).
Is nane on lyfe . . . Na he sould . . . (I. 2584).

5. Others are due to imitation of well-known devices in O.F. sentence-building—

Thay sall it by *sa deir*, perfay,
That thay bocht neuer *sa deir* ane pray (I. 173).
I haue sene *sik ane* thing here
That I sall neuer *sic ane* vther se
= veü as
Tel chose qui jamais *autele* ne verras (IV. 9660).

[Cp. Followand hym *sic a menȝhe*
That neuir in his lif-tyme he
Had *sic menȝe* at his leding (Br. IV. 298).]

The form *or* = ERE, which is found at first only in Barbour (O.E.D.), occurs in 'B. A.,' *e.g.*, I. 219.

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The evidence collected above proves not only that the syntax of the 'Buik' is markedly French, but also that, as Mr Sykes suggested long ago, the syntax of the 'Bruce' shows strong French influence.

§ 54. Metre and Rime.

The translator appeals to the reader's indulgence in case he should, in the interests of accurate translation, appear to have fallen short of a proper ideal in metre, rime or phraseology :—

> "Bot thocht I failȝeit of ryming
> Or meter or sentence, for the rude,
> Forgif me, for my will was gude
> To follow that in franche I fand writtin"
> (IV. Col. 4).

This, however, is the usual conventional apology. The easy-going metre allows lines to remain with syllables too many or too few, in cases where it would have been the simplest thing in the world to regularise their number, *e.g.* :—

> And, gif thay mister, *to* mak rescours (I. 44),

but though this apparent negligence offends the modern ear, it is universal in M.E., and in no wise peculiar to the 'Buik' or the 'Bruce.'

The following points, which could be paralleled easily in the 'Bruce,' are noted (from Book I.) merely to facilitate reading :—

Final *e*, which plays so great a part in Chaucer's versification, is not pronounced at all, any more than it is in the 'Bruce' (see Skeat, Vol. ii. pp. 308-10). Douzë peris (I. 505) is only an apparent exception.

The first foot often consists of one syllable only, especially perhaps when the line begins with a conjunction :—

> Ańd / ane Earle / of me/kill micht (41).
> Thát / the oist / thairof / might be (170).
> Fór / with richt / great che/ualry
> (180 ; cp. 48, 213, 977, 989).
> Bót / I tak / now ane / vengance
> Sóne / in this / new ac/quentance (203).
> Hé / sal nocht / call thame / gabbing (476 ; cp. 979) ;
> [cp. Ańd / in branch / collat/erale Br. I. 56, 64, &c.]

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An unstressed syllable is often slurred, either in the interior of a word in accordance with the inveterate Scottish habit of clipping: hardyment (*e.g.*, I. 283, 302); Paradise (I. 398, 770); remanand (I. 166); rigorously (I. 118) = hardment, &c.; or at the end, especially before a word beginning with vowel:—

Great hat/rent a/ther at vt/her had
(2006; cp. 1850);
Bot foll/ouit thame / efter in / ane lyng (3142);
Baith le/uer and lungis / in shun/der he share
(2887; cp. 1145, 2080);

but also before a consonant:—

For better / na thow / may spend / na speir
(1083, 2497);
His scheld was gold but vther colour
(991; cp. 1682, 2531).

With *-er*, as in the above examples, this is particularly frequent, and the following words in *-er* are almost always monosyllabic: euer = EVER and neuer = NEVER; nather, nouther; quhidder = WHETHER (*e.g.*, To leif or die quhidder God will send (637; cp. 1125, 2495), togidder = TOGETHER; couer = COVER (*e.g.*, 1191, 2150) and recouer = RECOVER (*e.g.*, 906, 1366, 1390, 1995), as in Br. IV. 123. But power is dissyllabic (I. 1766). The practice of elision is extended to *-our*:—

Of succ/*our* and help / great neid / had thay
(1661, cp. 482);

and it also occurs with -le (-el, -ill, &c.)

And in / the cant/*el* was set / a flour
(992; cp. 3027);
Ane Con/stab*ill* or/daned be / the King (421).

[Accented Constábill, as in 29 and in Br. VI. 201]; so nobillest, dissyllabic in 1431; perill (860); similarly, *-in* (*-en*, *-yn*, &c.), notably in past participles: brokin (2534), cummin (2233 [as in Br. I. 50]), fallin (1233), geuin (777, &c.), gottin (687), haldin (1318), but also in other parts of speech: gamin, samyn (1194), euin = EVEN (1239, &c.); cp. Br. VII. 103; seuin (seuyne, &c.) = SEVEN is always monosyllabic. For a somewhat similar elision cp.:—

Bot ver/ray tak*innis* [= " tokens "] / I will nocht ga (870)
That thret/ty thous*and* / or ma / may be (484).

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Knawin = KNOWN is monosyllabic in 684 (as in Br. IV. 175, III. 146, &c.), but hewin = HEWING (*rime* stampin: III. 7403), auin = OWN (2737) are dissyllabic. Several of the above examples fall under the general rule (see Gregory Smith, *o.c.*, p. xxxviii, § 23) that intervocal *v* (written *u*) is not pronounced, which also accounts for euill, = EVIL, being generally a monosyllable—*e.g.*, 337, 642, 769, 1647; so euenture (1616).

The plural ending *-is*, often printed *s*, counts as a syllable or not, largely at the writer's convenience, but in monosyllabic words and in words accented on the final syllable the *-is* generally forms a distinct syllable, as in Br.[1] But cp.

Fór / of Douze / *pers* ane / was he (48)
Of the / Douze *peiris* / he held / na ma (50)
Óf / the Dou/ze *peris* / that ay (505).

Rimes like furriouris = "forayers": rescours (43) show what hesitation prevails. So also for the genitive ending -is, Kingis, &c.

Certis (838) is a monosyllable; so is *-it* (*-yt*) of the past tense in:

His Hau/brik helpit / him nocht / ane hair (120),

and of the past participle in:

Arrayit / into / fell gud / armour (132).

Coalescence of *his* is rare: *on his* is no doubt intended to be pronounced "on's" in 2086; cp. also—

And sturdely, *befoir his* battell (2262).

Proper names are treated with the customary freedom. Alexander has regularly three syllables, corresponding to E. Sc. Alsander (and Mid. Sc. alschinner, 'Privy Council Reg.,' 1618, Gregory Smith, *o.c.*, p. 231, 1, 15; Mod. Sc. 'Elshenar').

Quhen Alex/ander / in his / impire
(1; also 207, 587, 703, &c.)
[cp. Quhen Alexander the king wes deid (Br. I. 37)].

And the exceptions are only apparent, *e.g.*:—

Al/exander / the nobill King (519; cp. 1727);
Wist Al/exander of / this che/ualry (224).

[1] 'D. S. Sc.,' 153.

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But the other proper names are scarcely subject to the rules of scansion—*e.g.*, *Areste*, usually trisyllabic; but cp. :—

Andreome / Areste / and Per/diccas (407);

Betys, occasionally a monosyllable, cp. :—

War a/bout Betys / with burneist brandis (2595);

Emynedus has four syllables in I. 657, 745, 793, &c., three in 27, 757, &c.
Licanor has three syllables in 257, two (= Lic'nor) in 245, and is apparently unmetrical in—

Licanor, Antigonus, and Floridas (39).

Rime.

Battell (F. *-aille*) rimes with tell (III. 6956). In the 'Bruce' bataill (-alyhe, &c.) rimes with words of similar character—*e.g.*, assaill, travaill,[2] and for this reason, among others, Skeat held that in the passage (in H, but absent from C and E) relating to the Heart of the Bruce (XX. 421-32), and containing the rime battell, tell must be spurious, although he accepts 27 lines elsewhere, occurring only in H. But Mr Mackenzie[3] points out that the spelling *battell*, with dissyllabic pronunciation, is frequent in the 'Bruce.'

Skeat,[4] following Buss,[5] maintained that in the 'Bruce' such a word as de = DIE (Icel. deyja), *he* = HIGH (O.E. héah), or e = EYE (O.E. éage), never rimes with words like *he* = HE (O.E. hé) or be = BE *v.* (O.E. béon), because of the final guttural sound still audible in 1375, and he found in the occurrence of the rime de = DIE: be = BE *v.* (Br. XX. 428) an additional proof that the above-mentioned passage was not written by Barbour. Dr Neilson[6] pointed out that in the 'Buik' this rule, if such it be, holds good in respect of five words; *de* (with one exception), *dre*, *e*, *he*, and *fley* = "frighten" which rime with *e* guttural, but that fle = FLEE, *le* = LIE, *s.b.*, and *unsle* = "not sly" rime both with *e* guttural and with ordinary *e*, as in the 'Troy-Book' and the 'Legends of the Saints.' Herrmann mentions that such distinctions are all but entirely lost in Haye's 1460 translation.[7]

[2] Buss, 'Anglia,' IX., pp. 493-514.
[3] Ed. 'Br.' Appendix D., p. 505, *n.* 4.
[4] Ed. 'Br.' III. lxxvii.
[5] 'Anglia,' IX. 493.
[6] 'J. B.,' pp. 49-50.
[7] 'Taymouth MS.,' p. 6.

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Imperfect Rimes.

The riming is less correct than in the 'Bruce,' where, however, it is far from perfect—*e.g.*, ruschit : refusit (IV. 145), Robert : sperit (V. 13). In the 'Buik' the following imperfect rimes occur :—

Consonants.

belyfe : swith (II. 1923).
lyfe : blyth (III. 8394).
hardement : mend (III. 7810).
grant, *sb.* : plesand (II. 2253).
visantis : flankis (French : *jazerans* : *flancs*, IV. 9350).
great : baith (IV. 11,071) [cp. Br. V. 387, laid : grathit].
det : subiect (III. 5137).
shupe : tuke (IV. 9810).

The assonance *m* : *n* is not uncommon :—

shame : gane (15).
lame, *adj.* : bargane, *sb.* (IV. 9689).
grome : sone (II. 479).

[Cp. with the first two the similar rimes (although in proper names only) in the 'Bruce' : hame : Bretane (XVIII. 473) ; lame : Carnavarane (XIX. 256 (Hart).)]

Vowels.

sone : fyne (IV. 10,933, where the text may be corrupt);
gaif : neif (IV. 9745) ;
was : preis (I. 2555) ;
I : he (I. 1526) ;
drawyne : slane (97), with which Dr Neilson, 'J. B.,' p. 51, compares 'Troy-Book' drawyne : mayne. Liberties, for which there is ample precedent in the French original, are taken with proper names—*e.g.*, "Betys" appears as "Betoun," to rime with lyoun (III. 5053).

Gerunds, or verbal nouns, in *-ing*, which usually rime

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accordingly, are occasionally found riming with, and spelled as, *-yne* and *-in* :—

Cummyn (IV. 10,699), festnine = "fastening" (III. 5041), justyne = "jousting" (II. 5561), lyking (II. 3223), all riming with *syne;* helpyne (I. 608), and horssine = "horsing" (IV. 8344), riming with *tyne;*
armin : shein (I. 823);
armyne : fyne (II. 3667);
carpyne : thyne (IV. 10,195);
chapin = CHEAPING, *vbl. sb.* (III. 5386) : win, *v.;*
lesing : alphing, usually alphyne (II. 3736);
stampin = "stamping" : hewin = "hewn" (III. 7403).

Similar forms occur also in the interior of the line, *e.g.* :—

armine = "arming" (II. 4618), helpyne (I. 608).

This practice is found also in the 'Bruce,'[8] and sporadically in the 'Legends of the Saints'[9] and the 'Troy-Book,'[10] but is relatively uncommon elsewhere. Dr Neilson[11] found "in 70,000 lines of fourteenth-fifteenth century Scots" only four cases (excepting proper names)—viz., Wynt. VIII., I. 5417, hurtyne : syne; 'Howlat' 52 and 712; 'Rauf Coilȝear' 60; and he might have added that the usage is not Wyntoun's, the solitary instance being due to his anonymous contributor. Dr Brown[12] pointed out that of Skeat's fourteen examples in the 'Bruce,' six belong to passages which he considered spurious; also that such riming occurs in the 'Sowdan of Babylon,' Henryson, Lyndesay, Douglas, and Dunbar. The 'Sowdan,' however, is not a Scottish text, and its rimes are notoriously loose; the practice of late fifteenth and early sixteenth-century Scottish writers proves very little.[13] With-

[8] See the list in Skeat ed. 'Br.' III. p. 312, to which Muehleisen adds cummyng : covyng (E conwyne) (IX. 13); medicyne : governyne (XX. 531); murnyng : syne (XX. 569).

[9] Neilson, 'J. B.,' p. 53, enumerates 24 such rimes in 33,000 lines of the Legends.

[10] Neilson, ibid., finds 2 with *syne*, and another, *stekinges : engynes.*

[11] 'Athenæum,' 27th February 1897, p. 280.

[12] 'Br. and Wall.,' pp. 167-8.

[13] The confusion of *-in* and *-ing* is common in 16th century Sc.; cp. the rime *femining : inclyne* in 'Clariodus' (Curtis, *op. cit.*, § 421). To terminal *-in* a *g* was frequently added (see Lengert, 'Engl. Stud.' XVII. 368; Skeat, ed. 'Lanc. Laik,' E.E.T.S., p. xvii.) This practice is common in words of French origin—*e.g.*, bassing = BASIN, 'Inv. Roy. Wardr.' 1488; 'Edinb. Rec.,' II. 133, 1560-1; and is extended to those in *-ine—e.g.*, F. *bottine* > botingis in Dunbar, *courtine* > curteingis, 'Aberd. Reg.' The form maring ('B. A.' II. 2926) = MARINE may be due to the printer.

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out subscribing to Dr Neilson's view that such rimes are *essentially* characteristic of Barbour, we can safely say that the 'Buik' and the 'Bruce' show here a marked similarity. Of the fourteen examples (see the list in Skeat, 'Bruce' III., pp. 315-16, and Neilson, 'J. B.,' pp. 53-54), eight rime with *syne*, two with *tyne*, two with *vyne*, one with *medicyne*, and one with *covyng* = covyne, which coincides with the practice in the 'Buik.'

CHAPTER XIV.: THE MSS. OF 'LI FUERRES DE GADRES.'

THE MSS. in which our text is found, along with parts, or the whole, of the 'Roman d'Alixandre,' are fully described by Paul Meyer, 'Romania,' Vol. XI. (1882), pp. 247-320, and classified as under. Most are discussed in the Introduction to our Vol. II.

[B][1] Venice, Museo civico B. 5. 8
First half of 14th c.

[C] Bibl. Nat. Fr. 15095
(anc. suppl. fr. 643)
Second half of 13th c. 'F. G.' begins at F°. 45.

[D] Bibl. Nat. Fr. 15094
(anc. suppl. fr. 403)
Middle of 13th c. 'F. G.' at F°. 57.

[E] Bibl. Nat. Fr. 787
(anc. 7190[2] Baluze)
Last third of 13th c. 'F. G.' at F°. 15[d].

[F] Parma, Bibl. naz. 1206
14th c. 'F. G.' at F°. 14.

[G] Bibl. Nat. 25517
(anc. Oratoire 189)
Second half of 13th c. 'F. G.' at F°. 54.

[H] Bibl. Nat. 786
(anc. 7190)
Third quarter of 13th c. 'F. G.' at F°. 17[c].

[I] Bibl. Nat. Fr. 375
(anc. 6987)
A.D. 1288. Written by Jean Madot, nephew of Adam le Bossu. 'F. G.' at F°. 172[v°], col. *c*.

[1] [A] Bibl. de l'Arsenal 3472 does not contain 'F. G.', these folios having been lost.

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[J] Bibl. Nat. Fr. 24366
(anc. Notre-Dame 275)
Middle of 13th c. 'F. G.' at F°. 40^{b}.

[K] Bibl. Nat. Fr. 792
(anc. 7190$^{5.5}$A Colbert)
Third quarter of 13th c. 'F. G.' at F°. 67^{c}.

[L] Bibl. Nat. 789
(anc. 7190^{4} Baluze)
A.D. 1280. 'F. G.' at F°. 22^{a}.

[M] Bibl. Nat. Fr. 24365
(anc. S. Victor 420)
First half of 14th c. 'F. G.' at F°. 21^{b}.

[N] Bibl. Nat. Fr. 791
(anc. 7190$^{5.5}$)
End of 14th c. 'F. G.' at F°. 20^{a}.

[O] Bibl. Nat. Fr. 1375
(anc. 7598^{3} Cangé)
15th c. 'F. G.' at F°. 73^{v}.

[P] Oxford, Bodleian Library
Bodl. 264
(formerly F. 10).
A.D. 1338. 'F. G.' at F°. 21.

[Q] Bibl. Nat.
Fr. 790
(anc. 7190^{5})
Middle of 14th c. 'F. G.' at F°. 21^{c}.

[R] Bibl. Nat. Fr. 368
(anc. 6985)
First half of 14th c. 'F. G.' at F°. 51^{v}, col. *c*.

[S] Bibl. Nat. Fr. 1590
(anc. 7611)
First half of 14th c. 'F. G.' at F°. 55^{c}.

[T] Bibl. Nat. Fr. 1635
(anc. 7633)
End of 13th c. 'F. G.' at F°. 108^{a}.

[U] Bibl. Nat. Fr. 12567
(anc. suppl. fr. 342)
Early 14th c. 'F. G.' at F°. 2.

[V] Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 67
14th c. 'F. G.' at F°. 27 after "Assit principio s'ca maria meo." [Parchment 190 × 130 mm. Contains (besides some 800 lines of 'F. G.' F°. 27-46, with the same order of "laisses" approximately as in D) F°. 10, 'Turpin,' F°. 18, some 650 lines of Merlin's 'Prophecy,' F°. 51, Sermons of Maurice de Sully. '**Descr.**,' P. Meyer, 'Romania' V., p. 470, and XI., pp. 317-18.]

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Portions of 'F. G.' appear in the Lugo fragment [*a*] (= pp. 92, 23-109, 5 of the Michelant edition), of which extracts are printed by A. Parenti, 'Osservazioni . . . dans le Opere del conte Giulio Perticari (1839), II. pp. 359-65; see P. Meyer, 'Rom.' XI. p. 319; and in the Saint-Lô fragment [*b*] = pp. 173, 25-179, 14, and 196-201 of the Michelant edition.

Another 'R. A.' MS. is noted by E. Langlois, 'Notices et Extraits,' xxxiii. pp. 142-44, in the Library of the Vatican, Reg. 1364, Second half of 13th c., 188 × 123 mm. 240 F^{os}.

These MSS. are grouped by Paul Meyer, *op. cit.*, pp. 247-8 and 322, broadly as follows:—

I. A B, oldest as containing the First Branch of 'R. A.' in decasyllabics, but not possessing the intercalated poems of the Third Branch.

II C D E F, similar to Group I, but having the First Branch in alexandrines.

III. G H I J, having the Melcis episode, but not the 'Voyage au Paradis.'

IV. K L, having both these episodes but not 'V. P.,' and therefore transitional between III. and V.

V. M-V, possessing in addition 'V. P.' (except T, which is incomplete, and V, which has only 'F. G.,' but which on other grounds must belong here).

The above grouping, though generally accepted, is admittedly only approximate and provisional. To arrive at greater precision would entail such enormous labour that it may be doubted whether the exact relationship of the 'R. A.' MSS. will ever be determined. One important factor is the order of the "laisses," which varies very considerably in the different MSS. Since 'F. G.' consists of disconnected episodes, X jousting with Y, or A with B, at almost any moment in the fighting, the original, or the "correct," order of the episodes must remain extremely doubtful. Our task is not to discuss these matters, but, in the absence of any critical, or even sound, edition of 'F. G.,' merely to select a good text, corresponding generally with the Scottish translation, and collate it with such others as can reasonably be considered to be within reach of the editor of a Scottish text. Since none of the MSS. consulted presents the "laisses" in exactly the same order as the Scottish translation, we have been obliged to transpose them. But we number them as they occur in the MS. we have selected, and append a table showing their order in the other MSS. utilised, so as to meet the claims of accuracy and provide the future, perhaps unborn, editor of 'R. A.' with at least some useful material.

To select a MS. suitable enough for our special purposes was

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not difficult. The famous MS. 264 of Bodley's Library [P] was within easy reach, and, having used it largely for 'V. P.,' we were well aware of its merits. In it the order of the "laisses" tallies better than in others with that in the Scottish translator's MS.; the text is sound as a whole, and forms a close parallel to the Scots. We therefore took P as the base. Since Oxford possesses another 'R. A.' MS.—viz., Hatton 67 [V], the only one written by an English scribe,[1] we have used it to check P. For the same purpose we utilise H and, partially, I, not because they are the best—they are unfortunately among the poorest—of the 'R. A.' MSS., but because they are accessible in print in the only edition of the Romance, that published by Michelant,[2] who reproduced H and entered occasional variants from the transcript of I made by Sainte-Palaye, which is preserved in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal. Our text is thus that of P, collated with that of V—for both of which we accept responsibility,—and with Michelant's reproduction of H and his incomplete variants from I, which we give merely for what they may be worth. Our text accounts very adequately for the Scots translation, except in a few cases (see p. cclxxxi), where a short "laisse" may be missing.

APPARATUS CRITICUS OF LINES 1-10.

The following variants on the text of C are taken from the passages quoted by Paul Meyer, 'Romania,' XI. pp. 250 ff. All the MSS. are represented except A (which does not contain 'F. G.,' but is generally as B), and F, which is incomplete and which Paul Meyer omits.

Devant les murs de Tyr la dedens en la mer
Li rois de Macedoine fist .j. castiel fremer
Molt fu rice la tors sot entor maint piler
La façon del castiel ne vos sai deviser
De la porte vers terre lor vout le port veer
Qua la cite ne puiscent ne venir ne aler
Barges nes ne galies ne issir ne entrer
Li rois i coumanda de sa gent a aler
Armes et garnisons i fait ases porter
Souvent de jor en autre lor fait asaut livrer.

1. JK Thir; NO Tir.
2. E *om. line.* D Macidoine; F Mascedoine; M Macydoine; P Macedone. I Li rois bons Alex.

[1] P. Meyer, *op. cit.*, II, p. 274.
[2] Stuttgart, 1846.

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3. E Fut mout riche l. tor; L A tors et a bretesces. *entor maint*]. D entour eust; I e. et.
4. L L.f.de le tor.
5. *vers terre*] EIJLNU marage; O de Tir.
lor veut] DGIKLMNRS l. veut; E l. fist; J l. vient; O ne peut. *port*] I pont; U pas.
6. P Quen. E Que par la n. puist nus; U Que lom n. puisse leens.
MOPQRV v.n. retorner; N n.v.n. torner.
7. E *om. line.* DGJMPQRS Ne b.n.g.; IKT Ne barge n. galie; NO B. nef n.galie; U Que b. de g. DGJMPQRSU ni (U ne) puisent ariver; NO ni puisse ariver; IKT n.venir n.e.
8. *de sa gent*] D sagement; L le barnaige; O ses gens. *a*] O y. DEGKIMNOPQSTUV entrer; I monter.
9. DJV garisons; ILP garison; KMNOT garnison. U Et riches garnissons. DE fist. J af.dedens p.; NOY i fet metre et p.
10. *en*] IKLMNOPQ a. Eu S. deures a (U e.) autres: *livrer*] DMQR doner.

Opening Lines of the 'Laisses' in P [MS. Bodley 264], Fos. 22-43v.

Fo. 22. 1. 'Deuant les murs de tyr la dedens en la mer . . .'
2. 'Li grieu issent del ost por querre la vitaille . . .'
3. 'Ce soir vont bien li grieu a guise de forriers . . .'
4. 'El val de iosafaille lor font li grieu saillie . . .'
5. 'Emenidus ot ire quant vit ses ꝑpaignons . . .'
6. 'El val de iosafaille vont li grieu proie prendre . . .'
22v. 7. 'Molt ont bien li greiois la mellee tenue . . .'
8. 'Li grieu se retornoient a lost molt liement . . .'
9. 'Emenidus regarde uers les puis denemonde . . .'
10. 'Emenidus a dit car i ales filite [*for* filote . . .']
23. 11. 'Emenidus regarde uers les puis denemoie . . .'
12. 'Emenidus apele le hardi perdicas . . .'
13. 'Emenidus a dit car i ales caulus . . .'
14. 'Emenidus a dit, ales i ariste . . .'
15. 'Qvant voit emenidus que por noient trauaille . . .'
23v. 16. 'Emenidus darcage antiocum apele . . .'
17. 'Emenidus darcage en apela sanson . . .'
18. 'Qvant voit emenidus qui tant fait a loer . . .'

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Fº. 23ᵛ. 19. 'Emenidus darcage apela festion . . .'
24. 20. 'Emenidus regarde desous .i. oliuier . . .'
24ᵛ. 21. 'Emenidus regarde par mi le champ a destre . . .'
22. 'Emenidus darcage vit le duc aatir . . .'
23. 'Molt furent pau li grieu mes bel se ꝯforterent . . .'
24. 'A lasembler des griex iosta primes sansons . . .'
25. 'La fu molt grans li duels ou sanses fu cheois . . .'
25. 26. 'Salatons fu armes sus liart blance rale . . .'
27. 'Ceuls apeloient turs qui portent les roeles . . .'
28. 'Cornex fist el cheual que chesaire ot ꝯquis . . .'
29. 'Antigonus de grece vint par lestor poignant . . .'
30. 'Androynes sist el vair & galope sous frain . . .'
25ᵛ. 31. 'Licanor & filote dui frere molt vaillant . . .'
32. 'Armes de toutes armes & molt riche ator . . .'
33. 'Lyons vint as rens sus .i. destrier norois . . .'
34. 'Perdicas vit les osts de .ij. pars assembler . . .'
26. 35. 'Par le champ vait poignant li nies emenidon . . .'
36. 'Li valles sist armes sus .i. destrier isnel . . .'
26ᵛ. 37. 'Li valles tret sa lance que du retrere brise . . .'
38. 'Pirrus est en lestor si cop i sont parant . . .'
39. 'Bien uolt emenidus son poindre parfornir . . .'
40. 'Gadifer des larris ou croissent li paumier . . .'
27. 41. 'Pirrus vit Gadifer qui se melle as greiois . . .'
42. 'Dv conte sabilot qui ert mort a dolor . . .'
43. 'Emenidus darcage vit son neueu morir . . .'
27ᵛ. 44. 'Aristes vint poignant par mi lestor plenier . . .'
45. 'Emenidus darcage vit la gent honnoree . . .'
28. 46. 'La ou recourerent deuant le plesseis . . .'
47. 'Arides de ualestre regarde emenidon . . .'
28ᵛ. 48. 'La ou li grieu recueurent fu li chaples molt grans . . .'
49. 'Grieu se vendent molt chier qui ne trueuent monaie . . .'
50. 'La mesnie le roi fu molt afebloie . . .'
51. 'Aynsi ꝯme li turc orent place guerpie . . .'
52. 'Deuant les ꝯpaignons vint armes salatins . . .'
29. 53. 'Licanor & filote vont irie par lestor . . .'
54. 'Li grieu oent lenseigne alixand' crier . . .'
55. 'Por filote resscorre sont li grieu assemble . . .'
29ᵛ. 56. 'Cil de gadres nont mie ꝯueue louraingne . . .'

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Fº. 29v. 57. 'Por secorre betis i sont ses gens venues . . .'
58. 'Por secorre betis sont ses gens asemblees . . .'
30. 59. 'Bien ot emenidus rehetie sa gent . . .'
60. 'Betis & li gadrain cil de sa compaignie . . .'
61. 'Betis resaut en pies qui ot ire & pesance . . .'
30v. 62. 'Gadifer vit les griex tornes en auenture . . .'
63. 'Gadifer fu a pie en la combe dun val . . .'
64. 'Li grieu lessent lestor si se partent atant . . .'
65. 'Molt se furent malmis li vassal airous . . .'
31. 66. 'Montes est gadifer mes il est molt blecies . . .'
67. 'Li rois & tholomer & danclins sont venu . . .'
31v. 68. 'Qvant li greiois ꝓrurent alixand' dalier . . .'
69. 'Mieus vaut amis en uoie que argens ne fins ors . . .'
70. 'Illec ou li greiois sont as gadrains ioste . . .'
71. 'Qvant voit li dus betis alixand' & sensaigne . . .'
72. 'El chief de la montaigne sarrestent li gadrain . . .'
32. 73. 'Molt grant seurtance (?) torna li dus betis . . .'
74. 'Molt fu grans la bataille par les plains dorius . . .'
75. 'Lymers .i. cheualiers qi de sorfait not cure . . .'
32v. 76. 'Gadifer vit les griex le roi engramir . . .'
77. 'Festions sist armes sor .i. amoravi . . .'
78. 'Li dus vit alixand' qui a lui sest melles . . .'
33. 79. 'Emenidus esgarde le grant enꝏbrement . . .'
33v. 80. 'Li estors fu molt grans & merveilleus & fier . . .'
34. 81. 'Gadifer fu dolens ce li fu molt maus . . .'
82. 'Illec ou li vassal sont a terre cheu . . .'
83. 'Molt se furent maumis li vassal au ioster . . .'
34v. 84. 'Molt ot bien gadifer son seignor deliure . . .'
85. 'Dolens sen vait li dus corroucies & iries . . .'
35. 86. 'Or sen uait Gadifer qui les gadrains enmaine . . .'
87. 'Bien sen alast sans perte Gadifer ce cuidons . . .'
88. 'En parler bonement puet len bien gaaignier . . .'
35v. 89. 'Molt a bien Gadifer son encontre emploie . . .'
36. 90. 'Ne porent li gadrain lestor plus maintenir . . .'
91. 'Gadifer fu molt preus dun arrabi lignage . . .'
36v. 92. 'Fier furent li vassal & de grant estoutie . . .'
93. 'Cil ot feru grant cop qui donei en ot maint . . .'
94. 'Sor vne coutepointe de paile & dauqueton . . .'
37. 95. 'Ce soir iurent li grieu el val a la froidor . . .'
96. 'Li rois porsiut le duc qui de seior na cure . . .'

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Fo. 37. 97. 'Apres heure de tierce .i. poi deuant midi . . .'
98. 'Li forrier ont mengie a ioie & a plente . . .'
99. 'Lamiraut des arquois fu cheualier vaillans . . .'
37v. 100. 'Trestout le premerain licanor en apele . . .'
101. 'Emenidus lait tout a chascun son bon dire . . '
102. 'Emenidus apele lyone en souriant . . .'
38. 103. 'Emenidus darcage ne sot onques tenchier . . .'
104. 'Li messagiers sen torne qui des forriers se part . . .'
105. 'Li messagiers ains nonne a le roi conseu . . .'
106. 'Li messagiers a bien la parole rendue . . .'
107. 'Li rois ses cors meismes est premiers retornes . . .'
38v. 108. 'Li rois cheuauche tost qui molt ot fier corage . . .'
109. 'Lamiraus fu honteus quant a terre se sent . . .'
110. 'Pris fu li amiraus par folement venir . . .'
39. 111. 'Li estors fu molt fiers plus que ne sai retraire . . .'
112. 'Li estors fu molt fiers & durement ferus . . .'
113. 'Molt par fu grant la perte si *9* raconte estace . . .'

Followed by—

114. 'Li dus fu desconfis & sa gent ot perdue . . .'
115. 'Li dus fu desconfis sa terre gastee . . .'
39v. 116. 'A laube aparissant quant il dut esclarier . . .'

} Absent in the Michelant edition.

117. 'Li Rois de macedoine es reuenus a tyr . . .'
[= Michelant edition, p. 215, l. 5.]

After this the "laisses" continue as in the Michelant edition, pp. 215-230, to Fo. 42v., where our information ceases.

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* In reality two separated sections of the same 'laisse' (28) in *-is* (see p. 36, App. crit. 28, l. 6).

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110	128	198	36	..	..	..	..
111	129	199	33	..	..	..	..
112	130	201	1	..	..	..	..
113	97	171	5	..	..	..	..

"LAISSES" ABSENT IN CERTAIN MSS.

1. Present in H; absent in PV (and 'B. A.').

No. in H.	Reference in Michelant Edition.		Opening Line.
	Page.	Line.	
19	103	1	'Or voit Emenidus la cose si venue . . .' [Emenidus vainly appeals to his nephew Aiglente d'Arvolue to ride for help (cp. 7 of P).
24	106	38	'Emenidus d'Arcade fu enbrons et pensis.' [printed pp. 24-25 of our edition.]
33	114	3	'Antigonus li preus sist sor i. ceval cras . . .' [Antigonus overthrows Judas in a joust (cp. 12 of P).]
60	134	16	'Gadifiers voit les Grius qui sunt bon chevalier . . .' [Gadifer reviews his forces; Emenidus encourages the Greeks (cp. 40 of P).]

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"LAISSES" ABSENT IN CERTAIN MSS.—*Continued.*

1. Present in H; absent in PV (and 'B. A.')—*Continued.*

No. in H.	Reference in Michelant Edition.		Opening Line.
	Page.	Line.	
71	145	14	'Quant sunt venu ariere et vasal et destrier . . .' [Licanor and Ginohoces unhorse each other.]
83	160	6	'Gadifiers sist armés sor béart d'Escalone . . .' [Gadifer unhorses the "amiral de Mansone."]
85	161	13	'Li dus Betis de Gadres vot le camp calengier . . .' [Emenidus slays an "amiral" and takes his steed, winning praise from Alexander.]
91	166	4	'Le duc Betis remontent si home natural . . .' [Betis being remounted, Gadifer slays many Turks (cp. 81 of P).]
103	180	1	'Or s'en va Gadifiers a la ciere hardie . . .' [Ginohoces slays a Greek, but is unhorsed by Licanor.]
104	181	16	'Or sunt li doi vasal a pie en mi le pré . . .' [Ginohoces is slain by Licanor.]
108	184	30	'A Gadifier s'areste Alixandres d'Aliers . . .' [Gadifer surrenders to Emenidus.]
109	185	32	'Cescuns fu mult proudom et chevaliers adrois . . .' [Gadifer is taken prisoner. Emenidus slays Salinot.]
110	186	21	'Or s'en fuient Gadrain ni vont plus arestant . . .' [Alexander, pursuing Betis into the hills, is advised by an old man to give up the chase.]

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2. Present in HV; absent in P.

No. in H.	No. in V.	Reference in Michelant Edition. Page.	Line.	Opening Line.
74	39	148	1	'Par le camp esporone li povres desarmés . . .' [printed pp. 38-39 of our edition.]
84	59	160	23	'Gadifiers fet samblant que de rien ne s'esfroie . . .' [Alexander, admiring Gadifer's bravery, offers him peace, which he rejects.]

3. Present in V; absent in HP.

..	46	..	..	'Quant veit li dux betis de greus la contenance . . .' [printed pp. 62-63 of our edition.]
..	56	..	..	'Li dus betis de gazres ne se uelt pas refreindre . . .' [Emenidus is wounded by Gadifer.]

4. Unaccounted for in HPV.

				'B. A.,' ll. 2097-127. [Emenidus persuades Aristé, now sorely wounded, to ride for help.] 'B. A.,' ll. 2186-2209. [Emenidus, awaiting Alexander's arrival, revives the drooping spirits of the Greeks.]

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ARGUMENT OF 'LI FUERRES DE GADRES.'

N.B.—*The* "laisses" *are given here in the order in which they are translated in the* 'Buik of Alexander.' *The numbers indicate their order in MS.* P. "Laisses" *found only in MSS.* H *or* I *are enclosed in square brackets.*

When Alexander laid siege to Tyre, the city withstood his assaults so long that, finding himself in straits for food, he sent a band of forayers to the Vale of Josaphas under Emenidus, his lieutenant, with Perdicas, Lyone, Caulus, Licanor, Filote and Samson, while he kept Cliton and Tholomer by him for the siege (1). The forayers rode away (2), and early on the morrow came to Josaphas, and there found kine enough to feed the besieging host for many a day. But they that tended them were no herdsmen but knights in armour, and when Emenidus pricked forward (3) and seized the kine, Otheserie, their keeper, blew a blast upon his horn, assembled his men, and, slaying seven of the forayers, rescued the beeves (4). Wroth was Emenidus when he saw his men undone. He charged the foe and a fight ensued (5), wherein Caulus slew Licanor and Lyone slew Otheserie, whose followers broke and fled, abandoning their kine (7).

The forayers were riding back with the beeves when they came on Betis, Duke of Gadres, marching with a mighty host to the relief of Tyre (8). Emenidus, for his men were few against so many, resolved to send a knight to Alexander for help. But Licanor would not go, before taking toll of the enemy (9), nor Filote (10), Lyone (11), Perdicas (12), Caulus (13), Aristé (14), Antigonus (15), Antiochus (16), nor Samson; for how could they ride away and leave their brother knights in mortal peril? (17). Then Emenidus in his despair begged Corineüs to bear the message. But he, although he was a man of little substance, would not, for promise of gold (18); nor would Festion go (19), nor a poor and unknown knight in sorry armour, who had been held thirteen years a hostage by Darius and had come but three days since to Alexander (20), nor yet [Caunus (H) nor] the cousin of Aristé. At last, as the unequal battle opened, Aristé consented to bear the message, but not till battered helm and splintered spear and

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bleeding body should show to Cliton and Tholomer at Tyre that he came fleeing from no coward's ploy (22).

The Greeks were but seven hundred against thirty thousand (23). Samson died by Betis' hand (24), but Emenidus slew Salahaton, Archbishop of Gadres (25), Festion slew a mighty Duke (77), and Caulus slew the Prince of Corinth (32); while Licanor and Filote, brothers clad in like armour (31)—and with them Aristé,—dealt death around them (44). Perdicas fell from his steed, and had been overpowered but for Emenidus (34). A kinsman of Betis was slain by Corinëus (28); an Arab by Antigonus (30); another, who held Jordan in fee, by Androyne (30), and Maudras by Lyone (33).

[The Poor Knight, having donned the fair armour of a vanquished foe and saved Emenidus from death, proved to be none other than Emenidus' own cousin, Pirrus of Monflour (I).] This Pirrus was a perfect knight (35); he slew Gastinel (36) and many more (37), and won the highest praise from Emenidus his uncle (38); but at the last Gadifer came up with a great company (39), slew Sabilot (40), and learned that his own nephew had been slain by Pirrus (41), whom he therefore most furiously attacked and slew. Thus, nephew for nephew (42), did Gadifer and Emenidus suffer bitter and equal loss.

Grieving for Pirrus (43) and bitterly avenging his untimely end (45), Emenidus performed wondrous prowess as he rode to and fro on Ferrand his charger (48), while his Greeks, under the great banner of Macedon, stoutly held their ground (49). Salatin (51) fell by the hand of Licanor (52), whose brother Filote, jousting with Murmigalés, was flung from his saddle, and lay in peril (53) till his friends reached him (54), and set him on his steed again. In the thick of that affray Emenidus was wounded by a bludgeon (55); seeing this, Betis came at him, but was unhorsed (56), and with difficulty succoured by his men; meanwhile Emenidus withdrew with a broken rein (57). Betis and Emenidus cheered their followers with brave words (58), and fiercer waxed the fight. Licanor was wounded by Betis, Caulus and Aristé were struck from their steeds (61), certain Greeks even fled; but Emenidus fought the harder with Gadifer, till both were unhorsed (64). Men rallied to their fallen leaders, who, being remounted, fought again (65). Then, but not till then, Aristé, wounded sore

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and moved with pity for the Greeks, rode from the stricken field (66).

When Alexander beheld Aristé in such evil case and heard his ill tidings, he called to horse (67), and as the Greeks saw him approach they took heart, but Betis uttered defiance (68). The forayers had suffered so grievous loss that of seven hundred, ten alone remained (69). Alexander pressed forward and slew Calot, but Betis with five men assailed him, and laid him flat on Bucifal his steed. But when Cliton and Tholomer came up (70), the foe withdrew to a hill, whence they made great slaughter with their arrows. Cliton took Nasel prisoner (72), Tholomer overthrew Betis and led away his steed (73), and scarce had Betis mounted another when Aristé and Caulus struck him down again. But when Murmigalés talked of defeat, Betis upbraided him (74). Gadifer overthrew Cliton, with such violence that his helm clave to the ground (76), while Betis told his men that of all their foes he most feared Emenidus. The battle waxed fiercer (78). Emenidus, lest the newcomers might outdo him (79), charged Betis and unhorsed him, and won praise of Alexander (80); Gadifer and Tholomer jousted (81), and when both were remounted (82), Gadifer worsted Tholomer and seized his charger (83).

But now must Betis and Gadifer retreat (84), and right sorrowfully they left the field. Ever and anon would Gadifer turn on the pursuers; one of them, Corineüs, paid for his insults with his life (85), and even Alexander himself was held at distance (86). Gadifer might have won home to Gadres, had he not tarried to protect his men (87). Once he turned on Alexander and stunned him, and when the King came to himself he praised his bravery to Cliton and Tholomer (88). But hardest after Gadifer rode Emenidus (89), who, mindful of the havoc he had wrought, determined to fight him (90) to the death (91), and slew him with his spear. Then he made lamentation over him as the bravest of knights (92), and swooned, for he too had been sore stricken. Alexander feared for him, and bade his own leech bind up his wounds (93); and when he had been tended, the Greeks rejoiced in victory, grieving no more for Samson and Pirrus, and rested for the night upon the field (94).

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Cest si conme li home alixandre alerent en feure el ual de iosafaille / et ꝯment cil de tyr le desfẽdirẽt et ꝯment enmenidus darcade ne pot trouuer en a la suie gent ki noncier le uosist a alixandre.

1 Fo. 22. DEVANT les murs de Tyr, la dedens en la mer,
Li rois de Macedoine fist .i. chastel fermer ;
Molt fu riche la tour, s'ot entor maint piler,
La faichon du chastel ne vous sai deviser.
De la porte vers terre lor volt le port veër
Qu'en la cité ne puissent venir ne retorner,
Ne barges ne galies n'i puissent ariver.
Li rois i conmanda de sa gent a entrer,
Armes et garison i fait assés porter,
Sovent de jor a autre lor fait assaut doner ;
Et cil se desfendirent a trere et a geter,
Car la cité ne veulent rendre ne delivrer.
Alixand' i anuie forment a sejorner,
Car entour eux ne puent vitaille recovrer.
Li rois par mautalent conmencha a jurer
Que ja n'en prendrai .i. qu'il ne face afoler ;
Emenidon d'Arcage conmende en fuerre aler

1, 7. a riuer. 16. prenderai.
13. Alixand'. 17. conmence.

Rubrick here in H : 'Si dist si com Alixandres asaut les murs de Tyr, mais il ne puet prendre la cite,' and (out of place, Fo. 71a, Michelant ed., p. 428, instead of Fo. 17c) : 'ci comence li fuers de Gadres.'

For the apparatus criticus to lines 1-10, *see* Introd. *to this volume.*

1, 11. I C. dedens s. desfendent ; V & c. s. defendeient. H au traire & au ruer. 12. HV ne r. n. donner (V liurer). 13. V A alisandre ennuie. 14. H puet ; V poent. 15. V en cõmence a i. 16. H prendra ; V prendray. *ne*] H nel. 17. H Emenidus darcade ; V Eumenidũ de archage. HV commande. *fuerre*] V fort.

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Heir beginnis the first parte of this buik of the most noble and valiant Conquerour Alexander the grit. Callit the Forray of Gadderis.

Vhē Alexāder in his impire
Lay to assege the toun of Tire,
And neir the wallis of that Citie
Vpon a craig, was in the sie,
Ane stalwart Castel gart he mak,
& garnison & vittel tak,
& hes gud fuson thidder sēd
& staluart men it to defend—
Thairwith he thocht to stop the way,
That nouther ship nor ȝit Gallay
Sould be sey cum to the toun
With vittell nor with garnisoun
Bot thay the craig sould cum sa neir
That thay sould be in his dangeir.
The King gart oft his men assaill
With bissines and grit trauell
To tak the nobill toun of Tyre ;
Bot Balas, that thairof was Syre,
Defendit it sa manfully,
Throw helping of his cheualry,
That oft the Kingis menȝe ware
Rebutit, beft and woundit sair.
The King thair grit defence hes sene,
And maid ane aith in propir tene
That nane that was in that Cittie,
That micht be takin, sould sauit be ;
And to Emynedus de Archade,
That for his hie worship was made
Baith Constabill and ledere
Of all the Kingis oist in were,

[He

2, 3. *the*] yᵉ. 3. *that*] yᵗ. 21. *oft*] of. 25. *Archade*] archarde.

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Et .vij. chens chevaliers ensamble o lui mener,
Perdicas et Lïone et Caulon qui fu ber,
Licanor et Filote, por les forriers garder.
Le val de Josafaille a molt oï loër,
Que c'est la mieudre terre que l'en puisse trover.
Sanson, qui claime Tyr, les conmande a guïer,
Que bien seit le païs et les destrois de mer ;
Li rois retint o soi Cliton et Tholomer ;
Et cil issent del ost, si font lor gent monter.

2 LI Grieu issent del ost por querre la vitaille,
Et Sanses les conduit el val de Josafaille,
Une terre garnie de bestes et d'aumaille ;
Mes la gent est molt fiere et duite de bataille

1, 18. en samble. 23. aguier. 26. *cil*] *supplied.*

1, 18. H viii. H ensamble l. ; V ensemble od. 19. V lioine. H Caunus. 20. H Lincanor & Filotes. *forriers*] H forces. [H **& maint autre baron que jou ne sai noumer.**] 21. H *om. line.* I Josafa ont. V El ual d. iosafayle les fet li rois aler. 22. HV Car. V ke poūt t. 23. H & a S. d. Tir. *a guier*] HV l. c. guier. 24. *de mer*] V mener. H Qui b. sait les maus pas del p. esciver. 25. *soi*] H lui H Clincon ; V Clycon. 26. *cil*] HV.

2, 1. H vitalle ; V uitayle. 2. H conduisi ; V condust. 4. H Mais l. gens ert hardie de bestes & daumalle (*repeated from prec. line*).

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He bad him seuin hundreth knychtis ta,
And with thame in to forray ga
Richt to the vale of Iosaphas,
That of mair stoir aboundand was,
As of sheip, oxin and of ky,
Than ony vther land thairby.
The King bad Caulus and Lyoun,
And sindrie vtheris of renoun,
Licanor, Antigonus and Floridas,
Andreome, Areste and Perdiccas,
And ane Earle of mekill micht,
Schir Sabilour to name he hecht,
Pass to comfort the furriouris
And, gif thay mister, to mak rescours.
Schir Sampsoun tuik thay to thair gy,
For he that land knew halely,
Baith strait, plane and valie,
For of Douze pers ane was he.
The King held with him Tholomere
And Danclene, for thay fellowis were;
Of the Douze peiris he held na ma,
The laif he let to Forray ga.
Thay buskit as thay bidding haid,
And fra the hoist euin out thay raid,
NOW rydis the furreouris thair way,
Richt stoutly and in gude array.
Schir Sampsoun was thair gyde that nicht,
That led thame in ane randoun richt
To Iosaphas, to tak the pray.
Bot, or thay cum agane, perfay,
Thay sall weill hard assailȝeit be,
For all the men of that cuntre

[Raid

32. *thame*] yame.
43. L. *Past.*
50. *Danclene*] Dauclene.
51. Douzepeiris.

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Et vait tous jors armée por crieme c'on l'asaille ;
Ce qu'il ont a garder n'est mïe conmunaille,
A envis en leroient vaillant une mäaille.
Avant que li Grieu l'aient, vous di sans devinaille
En sera il perciés maint pis et mainte entraille
Et de maint blanc hauberc derompuë la maille.
Trop vont a escheri ; ne cuit que preu lor vaille,
Qu'ençois qu'il s'en retorment, le conperront sans faille !

3 CE soir vont bien li Grieu a guise de forriers,
Chauces de fer chaucies, et font as escuiers
Devant porter les armes et mener les destriers.
Toute nuit chevauchierent sans bruit et sans noisiers;
Au matin par son l'aube, que jor dut esclairier,
El val de Josafaille, vers les puis de Gibiers,
Ont choisïe la proie et veüs les vachiers ;
Mes il n'aloient mie a guise de berchiers,
Ains ont escus et lances et dars trenchans d'archiers,
Les bons chevaus d'Arrabe abrievés et corsiers.
Li Grieu sont descendu lés .i. brueil d'oliviers ;
Chascuns de soi armer ne fu mïe laniers.
Emenidus d'Arcage est remontés premiers
Et est alés devant a tout .c. chevaliers.

4 EL val de Josafaille lor font li Grieu saillie,
Et acueillent de proie une si grant partie
Dont l'ost peüst bien estre par lonc tens replenie ;

2, 6. Ceux. **7**. maille. **8**, 11. daliers.

2, 5. *vait*] H ert. 9] V kem. H nasalle. 6. *Ce*] V. H Cil ki lont a g. H garconalle ; I contrevalle ; V 9touaille. 7. H lairont. H vallisant u. m. ; V *as* P. 8. *In* V *the order of the lines is* 7, 11, 12, 8-10. HV Ancois q. l. G. aient (V laient). 9. H mains p. sor la coralle. V E. serra pcez meint cors & meint encraine. 10. H & d. m. bon h. ert rompue lentraille. 11. H escari ; V eschari. *preu*] H peu. 12. H Ancois ; V Anceis. H que il r.

3, 1. *soir*] HV jor. 2. V chaucees. *as*] H a. V eschiues. 3. *les*] HV lor. H & mainent maint d. 4. H les confanons lacies. 5. H q. jors fu esclairies ; V **quant li iors** poit clers. 6. H Gibies ; V gibers. 7. *choisie*] HV **trouee**. *veüs*] HV coisis. 9. *In place of l.* 9 HV *have two lines :*
A. erent bien arme car il lor est (V ert) mestier (V mesters)
& descu (V **deschus**) & de l. (H lance) & de d. por lancier (V trenchanz dascers).
10. HIV & ont cevaus de garde (I de Gadres, V darabie). 11. *i*] V le. H dolivier ; V doliuers. 13. V E Eumenidus darchage. HV e. montes tous premier (V tot premers). 14. *deuant*] H auant. V & e. uenuz auant [H pour aquellir la proie dont as Grius est mestier].

4, 2. *de*] V la. H & prisent d. le p. 3. *bien*] V *om.* *par*] V a. H De coi los p. e. i. grant tans raemplie.

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Raid with hors, armit Iolely,
To keip thair cattell and thair ky.
Thus think thay, throuch thair cheualrie,
Sa stoutly to defend thair fee
That thay of thairis sall haue na thing,
Bot thay it win throw hard fechting.
Thir knichtis of Grece, that war sa wicht,
Raid weill as furreouris that nicht,
With leggis armit withouttin mair,
And squyaris wicht, that with thame wair,
Tursit thair harnes halely,
And led thair guid steidis thame by ;
And thusgaittis all the nicht thay raid,
That nouther noyis nor crying maid,
Quhill on the morne, in the morning,
Richt as the day begouth to spring,
In Iosaphas thay fand the ky,
And sawe thame that sa sturdely
Raid furth for to defend their fee ;
Bot hyrdis semit thay nocht to be,
For thay raid, armit wantonlie,
On startand steidis of Arabie.
The furriouris, quhan thay thame sawe,
Thay lichtit doun into ane-thrawe,
And armit thame but mair abaid.
Emynedus befoir thame raid,
That had into his cumpanie
Seuin hundreth knichtis full hardie.
The furriouris the pray hes tane.
Micht thay thairwith thair gait haue gane,
The Oist micht weill refreshit bene,
Bot the hirdis, quhan thay haue sene

[Men

69. *that*] thay.

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Mes li cris est levés et la gent estormie ;
Li sires ques gardoit ot non Otheserie ;
A .i. cor d'olifant toute sa gent ralie,
Aus Griex vindrent devant, lés la roche Lerie,
Jusqu'a .vij. des Grejois ont toluë la vie ;
La proie lor resqueuent, maugré eux l'ont guerpie.
Duel ot Emenidus, qui les chadele et guie,
S'or ne se puet vengier, ne se prise .i. aillie.
Lors regrete sa gent et " Macedoine ! " crie,
Et li Grieu s'espandirent par mi la praierie ;
Ja sera conmencie de .ij. pars la folie !

5 EMENIDUS ot ire quant vit ses conpaignons
Morir por la vitaille dont li rois l'ot semons ;
Ferrant qui molt tost vait, broche des esperons,
Et fiert le premerain qu'en vuide les archons
Et l'auberc li fausa con ce fust auquetons ;
Par mi le cors li passe fer et fust et pignons
Si que de l'autre part en gita les roignons.
Li autre s'entrevindrent, bessiés les confanons,
Des mors et des navrés fu jonchiés li sablons ;
Tant forment s'entrehéent n'ont cure de prisons ;
As espées d'acier paient lor raënchons.

5, 11. A sespees.

4, 4. *gent*] I noise. 5. H qui les garde ; V ki gardot. H Oteserie ; V **otesserie**. 6. HIV les asemble (V resemble) & r. (H alie). 7. H D. lor sunt venu sor le roce naie ; V D. lost est uenuz sor l. r. burnie. 8. HV a vii. d. premerains (V de premiers grex). V ja a tolu l. v. 9. H & le p. ont rescouse. V lor l. g. 10. H E. darcade ; V E. les ueit. V ka le. *chadele*] H caiele ; V chaele. 11. V Sil nel les p. v. 12. *regrete*] H apele ; V recleime. *Macedoine*] V **senseingne**. *crie*] H escrie ; V rescrie. 13. *par mi*] H a val. 14. V **om. line**. H J. s. d. ij. p. la guerre c.

5, 1. H Duel ot E. (*cp.* 4, 10). 2. H d. il erent somons. 3. H F. q. tos li cort ; V F. ki tot li ua. *broche*] H hurte. 4. V & f. si l. p'mer. H vuident. 5. H Le hauberc l. f. 6. H *om. line*. 7. *gita*] H vit on ; V ieta. H le rognon. 8. H De ii. pars aprocierent ; V L. autre sentreuienent. 9. *fu ionchies*] H sunt joncie. V sont sanglenz li blacons. 10. H Si durement encontrent que n. soig d. prison. 11. *As espees*] HV. V manchons.

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Men seis thair oxin and thair ky,
The scry thay raissit hastely.
Thair chiftane hecht Otessorie ;
His men to him he can relie,
And hardelie came thame agane,
And hes fele of the formest slane,
In maugre of thairis reskewit the pray,
And dang the furreouris away.
EMYNEDVS was wonder wa,
That sawe his men rebutit sa,
And bot vengeance thairof be tane
He prysis him nocht worth a chirrie-stane,
His price nor ȝit his cheualry.
His ensigne than can he cry,
And thay of Grece that with him war,
All in ane sop assemblit ar,
And straucht thair steidis endlang the plane,
And hardely came thame agane.
Emynedus was wonder wa
Quhan that he sawe his furriouris sua
Die for the Cattell that the King
Had chargit thame to the Oist to bring.
Ferrand he straik with spurris in hy,
And straik the first sa rigorusly
That throw the bodie he him bair ;
His Haubrik helpit him nocht ane hair.
The laif, with vaponis stith of steill,
In middes the visage met thame weill,
And faucht sua that, in lytill spais,
Of deid and woundit fele thair was ;
Bot, with thair swordis to pay ransounis,
Thay tuik na tent to tak presounis.

[The

106. *prysis*] praises.

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6 EL val de Josafaille vont li Grieu proie prendre,
Mes cil ont bon talent qu'il la veulent deffendre ;
As espées d'achier lor sont venu contendre.
Caulus point le cheval, grans saus li fait porprendre,
Et fiert Laclanor, que l'escu li fait fendre,
Le plus hardi des lor, et si estoit le mendre ;
Niés ert Otheserie ; el champ le fist estendre,
Si l'a mort abatu ; l'ame li estuet rendre.
A ses vaches garder ne porra mes entendre !

7 Fo. 22v. MOLT ont bien li Grejois la mellée tenue ;
Le jor i ot doné maint cop d'espée nue.
Duel ot Otheserie de la descouvenue
Quant vit mort son neveu desus l'erbe menue ;
Le cheval esperone qui molt tost se remue,
Et fiert si .i. Grejois de l'espée esmolue
Que la teste du bu li a au branc tolue.
Lïones point le brun toute une voie herbue,
Et fiert Otheserie en la targe volsue
Que sous la boucle a or li a frete et croissue,
Mes la lance brisa con .i. rain de cegüe ;
Outre s'en est passés et tret l'espée nue.
Mes a Otheserie est molt mal avenue :
A une autre bataille qu'a .i. Grieu ot tenue,
Furent li las rompu et sa coiffe cheüe :

6, 2. *quil la*] H qui lor. V uodrūt cōtendre (*cp. next line*). 3. *contendre*] V defendre (*cp. prec. line*). 4. *grans*] H les. 5. H Lusianor ; V lazianor. 7. V Ne. *ert*] H fut ; V fu. H Otesien. H a qui Loth dut apendre ; I al camp la fait entendre. 8. HV S. l. a m. feru (V naffrez). H que l. l. fait r. ; V lalme l. estot rendre. 9. HV **om. line.**

7, 1. *tenue*] H meue. 2. V Cel. *done*] H feru. 3. H Otesiens. H desconvenue ; V descouenue. 4. *vit*] V ueit. 6. *grejois*] V gazereis. V molue. 7. V *om. lines* 7-9. H Del bu li a l. t. al b. dacier t. 8. H tout u. v. oscure. 9. *en*] H sor. *volsue*] H **menue.** 10. HV Desour l. b. d. (H *om.* dor). V est quassee &. *croissue*] HV fendue. 11. *la*] H **sa.** **brisa**] H pecoie. I **cenue.** H s[illegible]or un peu deceue. 12. V tint. V sespee. 13. HV e. grant perte (H[illegible] perde) a. (H venue). 14. H **Quar** a u. b. *tenue*] H eue. V q̄ out i. G. t[illegible]. 15. *sa*] V **la.** H Son elme avoit perdu & s. c. abatue.

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The furriouris, as I hard say,
In Iosaphas thay tuik the pray;
Bot the hirdis, with swordis of steill,
Hes gud will to defend thame weill.
Caulus came prikand in that stour,
Arrayit into fell gud armour,
And straik sa fast on Bassanor
That he brist all his sheild befoir,
And him out-throuch the bodie bair,
And fellit him [stane-] deid richt thair;
Thair endit all his cheualrie.
He was neir sib to Otessorie,
Lytill he was of corps, bot he
Passit all vthir in bounte.
The Grecians, throw thare gret valour,
Mantemyt weill the stalwart stour,
Bot richt wa was Otessory
Quhen he his neuoy dede saw ly;
He straik the steid that weill him bare
And, with his sword that sharpely share,
To ane Grecian he swappit sa
That arme and shulder he dang him fra.
Bot Lyonell, the gud in neid,
Sterit to him in hy ane steid,
That hit him euin vpon the sheild,
To flenderis flew out of the feild;
The stalwart speir in sunderis brast.
As Lyonell far by him past,
The sword he swappit out in hy.
That fell euill to Otessory
That tyme, for in the bargane thair
His helme and lance baith hewin wair;

[Bot

134. *his*] hls.
141. *thare*] yare.
142. L. *Manteinyt. the*] ye. *Minuscule at l.* 154.

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Et Lyones le fiert en la teste chenue
Que l'espée li a jusqu'as dens embatue.
Quant li sires est mort, l'autre gent est vaincue,
Par mi une montaigne s'en fuit toute esperdue,
Et li Grieu ont de proie tel plenté retenue
Dont l'ost porroit bien estre grant piece maintenue.
Mes ançois que il l'aient, lor sera chier vendue !

8

LI Grieu se retornoient a l'ost molt liement ;
Mes ançois qu'il i soient, seront il molt dolent,
Car li sires de Gadres ot mandée sa gent
Tant que il furent bien .xxx. mil et .vij. cent.
Li dus Bales de Tyr li ot mandé sovent
Qu'Alixand' li tourne sa terre a grant torment ;
Si le vorra secorre, s'il puet, hastieuement.
De la ville s'en ist molt esforciement ;
Il en jure le ciel et la mer et le vent

7, 17. ius ques.

7, 16. V crenue. 17. H dusquas ; V tres kas. 18. *est . . . est*] H fu . . . fu. 20. HV & l. G. d. le (V la) p. orent (V i ont) tant r. 21. HI De coi los peust e. i. g. tans rapeue (I repeue) ; V D l. poust b. e. un mot long tens peue. 22. V M. einz kil eient quite.

8, 1. H **sunt** retourne ; V sen retournerent. HV **vers**. H villement. 2. HV M. a. que li soirs (V kil seit nuiz) s. grain (V grein) & dolent. 3. *mandee*] H mande de ; V fet mander. 4. *.xxx.*] H iiii. 7. *Si*] HV Or. HV procainement (V procheinement). 8. H De Gadres sen isci. 9. *en*] H a. *& la mer*] H & le tiere ; I le solel.

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Bot hat his heid was left all bair,
Bot, for grete eild, was canous hare ;
And Lyonell with all his maucht
Wpon the hede ane rout him raucht,
That to the schoulderis he him claue
And dede doun to the erd him draif.
Than, fra that lord was dede, all tyte
The remanand was discumfit quyte,
And to the hillis held thair way ;
And thay of Grece sesit the pray
In to sa mekill quantitie
That the oist thairof micht be
Lang tyme easit at thair lyking.
Bot, or thay to the hoist it bring,
Thay sall it by sa deir, perfay,
That thay bocht neuer sa deir ane pray!
THE furreouris hes tane the way
Towart the oist, mery and gay ;
Bot, or thay thidder cummin be,
The best and of the maist bountie
Of all that rout salbe sory,
For with richt great cheualry
Thair fais before thame sall thay sie
Or that thay cum to the citie.
For duke Betys that Gaderis aucht,
Richt towart Tyre the way hes caucht
To skaill the sege of that citie,
For of gude men with him had he
Threttie thousand and ma, Perfay,
Be seuen hundreth, as I hard say.
Alexander thay mannace greatumly,
And said he did ane great foly

[Gif

159. *Bot hat*] To that.
161. lyonell.
168. *sesit*] felit.
169. samekill.
175. *way*, pray.
183. betys yat gaderis.

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Que fols est Alixand' s'a bataille l'atent !
Li dus Betis regarde vers le puis d'orïent,
Et connuit les forriers et sot certainement,
Puis a dit a ses homes : " Esgardés quel present !
Ceste gent est de l'ost, je sai a escïent,
Qui enmaine la proie et la terre porprent.
S'as premeraines jostes n'en pren ja vengement,
Ja ne tiengne je mes de terre .i. seul arpent !
Hui saura Alixand' que je ne l'aim noient ! "
Emenidus d'Arcage vit premerainement
Le duc Betis de Gadres, entre lui et sa gent :
" Vés l'empire de Gadres qui nous vient ataignant !
En aventure somes de mort et de torment,
Mes tout soit il honis qui ançois ne s'i vent !

8, 16. San. 21. Vees.

8, 11. H de Gadres ; IV esgarde. H v. **les** p. de Nublent. 12. H sa veu l. f. *sot*] V vit. 13. *Puis*] H &. 14. H j. le s. vraiement ; V jel s. a esscient. 16. *Sas*] V. II Sas premerains ne j. *nen*] H ne. *pren ia*] H prendes ; V prenom. 19. HV les v. premierement. [HV & (V Si) **a dit a ses homes** (V as gazerois) **cevalcies sajement** (V cheuauchez sagement).] 21. *Ves*] H. V Veez. *ataignant*] H en present ; V irrement. 23. V Mult tost. *qui*] H sil. H venc.

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Gif he wald byde thame in battale,
For duke Betys, that thay assale,
Suld of thame weill reuengit be!
As the duke with his grit menȝe
Raid our the hillis, he hes sene
The forreouris all haill bedene,
That in towart Tyre gart drife the pray,
Than to his menȝe can he say:
"Lordis, behald quhat-kin present
That our Goddis hes to vs sent!
ȝone folk ar of the oist, perfay,
That driffis thiddirwart the pray;
Bot I tak now ane vengance
Sone in this new acquentance,
I hope neuer to hald of land
Ane akirbreid in to my hand!
And Alexander sall find, na faill,
This day that I luif him bot smaill!"

Heir Emynedus makis praying
To the douze pers to warn the king.

EMYNEDUS formest hes sene
The battellis and thare baneris schene,
Than to the knichtis of Grece in hy
He sais, "now ridis wittely,
For of Gaderis the empire
With Betys (that thairof was sire)
Cummis vpon vs sturdely!
We ar in perell sickerly
Outher of dede or of turment,
Gif God sum succour to vs sent!
Bot, or we dee on that manere,

[Our

191. yame.
194, 195, 201, 202. ye.
196. be dene.
197. tyre.
199. *quhat-kin*] quhat thing.
204. yis.
210. yare.
211. grece.
213. gaderis.
218. succonr.
219. yat.
Minuscule at l. 210.

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Hui porra l'en vëoir qui plus a hardement ! "
S'Alixand' seüst ce grant encombrement,
Hui vausist le gäaig .c. mile mars d'argent ;
Mes ce ne puet pas estre, que Diex ne le consent.
Atant sont descendus tost et isnelement,
De lor cors atorner ne furent mïe lent,
Et montent es chevaux ; qui ot escu, sel prent.

9 EMENIDUS regarde vers les puis de Nemonde,
Et vit la gent de Gadres dont tout le val soronde,
N'a mïe par grant vent en haute mer tant onde
Conme il vienent espés la valée parfonde ;
Tous les veulent enclorre entor a la reönde ;
Autresi les aceingnent con vilains o sa fonde.
Emenidus les voit, ne puet muër n'en gronde ;
Pau a gent a conbatre, n'en a cuer qu'il reponde,
Ne por pöour de mort n'a talent qu'il s'esconde ;
Et bien seit et connoist que tuit sont des chiés monde,
Et ne voit nul secors qui envers lui s'esponde.
Lors n'a oil en la teste qui de pitié ne fonde,
Il en a apelé Licanor de Mirmonde :
" Ber, ja est tes chevaus plus isnel d'une aronde !

8, 26. gaig. **9**, 6. safonde. 10. *Et*] *om.* 13. *a*] *om.*

8, 24. *plus a*] V avera. 25. H Se s. A. icest e. ; V Si Alisandr̄ sout cest g. e. 26. H gaains ; V gaanz. 27. V put. *que*] HV car. 28. H Li Griu s. d. 29. *cors*] H cor. 30. &] H puis. V sil. [H Cescuns i a feru par grant airement.]

9, 1. H d. Nimonde ; I d. Meronde ; V danemūde. 2. V gazres. H & a veus les Grius. 3. H navie. *en*] H par. 4. *espes*] H es pres. 5. *Tous*] H &. *entor*] H trestous. 6. H acegnent. H com li v. a f. ; V come uileins s. f. 7. HIV *om. line.* 8. HV poi. *a*] H por. H na c. que il responde ; IV ni a (V n. na) cor qui (V quor ke) responde. 10. *seit*] H voit. &] HV. *des chies monde*] H cief de m. ; V de chef m. 11. &] H Ne ; V Kar. HV q. avoec l. abonde (V saponde). 12. V Il. H L. n. cuer ens el ventre. 13. V Lors. *a*] H ; V *as* P. H dorionde ; V d. mormūde. 14. H B. i. as tu ceval ; V Beals i. e. t. destrers. H p. i. na el monde.

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Our deidis sall be sauld full dere.
I trow weill now that folk sall se
Quha hes maist vertew and bounte,
And quha the hart hes maist hardy!
Wist Alexander of this cheualry,
His winnyng suld be worth this day
Ane houndreth thousand pund, perfay,
Bot God will nocht that it sa be;
Our euenture heir ta mon we!"
With that, thay lichtit all in fere,
And armit thame on gude manere.
The gude Emynedus beheld
Thame of Gaderis our-tak the feild,
That thikkar our the hillis did thraw
Than in grete wynd on sey dois waw;
He saw the battellis approchand
With baneris to the wynd waiffand,
And saw few with him, for to fecht
Aganis men sa mekill of micht;
And he on na kyn wise couth se
How thay micht best reskewit be,
Bot Alexander, the nobill king,
Wald speid him sone in thare helping.
He sichit, and the tearis than
For piete our his chekis Ran,
And to schir Licanor can he say,
"Gude schir, ȝe se in quhat affray
The folks of Gadris hes vs set.
Bot gif we succour the sonar get,
Alexander sall tyne to-day
The folks that he luffit maist ay.
And ȝe haue hors richt weill at hand,

[Stalwart

223, 243. ye.
225. yis.
232. *our-tak*] our tuke.
234. *in*] ane.
238. samekill.
241. alexander.
242. yare.
243. yan.
247. gadris.

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Car va dire Alixand' : se tost ne nous abonde,
Hui perdra de la gent que plus aime en cest monde ! "
Quant l'entent Licanor, ne puet muër ne gronde,
Et ne lesse, por ce, son talent ne responde :
" Non ferai," dist li cuens, " par ceste teste blonde !
Ains parra mes escus estre targe reönde,
Et aurai de mon cors trenchié la mestre esponde,
Que isse de cest champ que maint des lor n'i tonde ! "

EMENIDUS a dit : " Car i alés, Filote !
Et dites Alixand' que toute terre est mote,
S'est venuë sus nous de Gadre et d'Amïote,
Et sont bien .xxx. mile de gent en une rote !
Se tost ne nous secort en si male rïote
Nos amis Alixand', ne cuit nus s'en estorte."
Et cil li respondi : " Ne me pris une bote
S'ainçois ne vois au branc conmencier .i. note
Jugleör ne fist tele en vïele n'en rote !
Molt sera or honis qui verra tel conplote

9, 15. a alixand'.
20. ronde.
10, 1. filite.
6. *nus*] que nus.

9, 15. H Cou. *a*] HV *om.* 16. V Kui. V q. il p. eime el m. 17. HV Q. Licanors l. (V loi). *puet*] V pot. *ne*] H nen. 18. *por ce*] H portant ; V pour quant. H que tos n. li r. ; V sun sen n. r. 19. H Je nirai. 20. H *om. lines* 20-21. *estre*] I que soit. *reonde*] H roonde ; V *as* P. 21. I & arai detrancie del c. l. m. e. 22. V Anceis kisse del ost. H Ne nisterai del camp q. d. l. n. encontre ; I q. d. l. nen etonde.

10, 1. *Filote*] HV. 2. *est*] V *om.* *mote*] H morte. 3. V Est. H & sunt venu sor n. de Gadres daraiote. 4. H .xx. V E sunt trente millier. HV flote. 6. H Des. I Nous a mis li bons rois. HI n. quic i. (I nous) en estorde ; V ke chascons sen desrote. 8. V *om. line.* 9. V Kunc bret me f. t. HI Conques encor Bretons n. f. t. en sa r. (I en harpe ne en r.). 10. *or*] H hui. V Mut en serra h. *plote*] H pelote (*cp.* **10**, 12).

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Stalwart, stith and weill sterand,
And ȝe thair nocht dreid na chaissing!
Sais, gif ȝour willis be, to the king:
Bot gif he succour ws in hy,
All dede in Gaderis mon we ly!"
Quhen Licanor had hard this saw,
For propir tene began to thraw,
And said, "that I will nocht, perfay;
Thair force first I will assay!
My scheild, that now is haill and feir,
Sall hewin be in pecis seir;
My hawbrek and my helm of steill
Salbe to-hewin ilk a deill,
And I neir woundit out of life,
Or ony leuand man me driue,
Or do to gar me tak the flicht!
To were me ȝit I haue sum micht!"
Emynedus sais, "Philot, bew syre!
Ga to the king that lyis at Tyre
And tellis him how duke Betys,
With Gaderis, Turkis and Arabys,
In haill battell thretty thousand
And ma, quhat lord and quhat seruand,
Ar cummand on vs sudandly,
And, bot he speid him haistaly
And succour vs with his barnye,
In lyfe he sall vs neuer se!"
"Shir," said Philot, "sa God me sane!
I sall se first the grete bargane
Begin with brandis that ar bricht,
And thay that wourthy ar and wicht
How thay thair hardyment dar assay.

[I war

---

254. ye.
256. gaderis.
257. Licauor; yis.
270. tyre.
272. gaderis turkis and a rabys.
279. god.

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Et partira du champ, se ançois n'i escote !
Je cuit que cis besoins n'est pas jeu de pelote !
Quant mes haubers sera pertuisiés conme cote,
Et mes escus a or con dras c'on haligote,
Et le sanc de mon cors sus mon arçon me flote,
Si revenra el pas mon cheval qui or trote,
Fo. 28. S'adonc vois el message, ne diront ' cist asote ! '
Ne ne m'en blasmera li rois ne Aristote !
Or soions tuit seür conme chastiaux sus mote ;
Honis soit li preudom qui por .i. jour radote ! "

11 EMENIDUS regarde vers les puis de Nemoie
Et vit les gens de Gadres dont li pays ondoie,
Qui plus vienent espés qu'espis ne sont en voie,
El premier chief devant, mainte ensaigne de soie
Et tel mil aprochier dont chascuns se desroie.

10, 18. *ne*] *om.*

10, 12. V Ne. *nest*] V seit. H Ne c. q. del besoing samble jus d. p. 14. *a or*] H fendus. H alignote ; V aligote. I environ la ligote. 15. HV *invert lines* 15, 16. 16. *Si*] HV &. *el*] H au ; V al. H mes cevaus ; V mis cheuals. 17. H Ce dont ; V Se lors. *asote*] V. H on dira cil nasote. 18. *ne*] HV. *men*] HV me. H gabera. *chastiaux*] H singes. 20. IV redote.

11, 1. H esgarde. *puis*] I pres. H d. Nimoie ; V danemoie. 2. HV & v. (H voit) la gent d. G. d. tous l. vaus o. 3. *plus*] V *om.* *voie*] V moie. H & v. p. e. que nes e. e. Moie. 4. *chief*] V *om.* H enseigne ; V enseigne. 5. H aprocans ; V aprochant.

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I war wele mair than shent, perfay,
Gif I went now as messingeir
And left ȝow in sik perrall heir!
Quhill my haubrek to-hewin is,
And my gude helme also, I wis,
Sall to-hewin be about my eiris,
And my sheild thirlit with stalwart speiris,
And my blude into great fusoun
Be fletand on my arsoun,
My steid, that now sic stering mais,
Be fallen in the haltand pais—
Gif I gang than to say sik thing,
Sall nouther Tholomere, na the King,
Na ȝit Danclene, that is thame by,
Say that I fled hame cowardly!
We sall be first on hard assay,
For I sie nathing now that may
Mar vs sa mekill as cowardis;
In hardiment all our worship lyis.
Thairfor be we als sikker all
As stane closit in castell wall,
For douchty men ar shent, Perfay,
That dreidis ouermekill for ane day."
EMYNEDVS the hillis beheld,
And sawe the Gadderis ouertak the feild,
Attour the hilles, with thair baneris
And ensigneis on seir maneris;
As in grit wynd dois haill and snaw,
Sa come thay on but dreid or aw,
And in the formaist front befoir,
He sawe mair than ane hundreth scoir,
And ma thay war, and sik, perfay,

[That

297. *Danclene*] Dauclene. 301. samekill.

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La conpaigne des Griex durement s'en esfroie ;
Puis n'i ot si hardi qui entendist a proie.

Lor anemis chascun son confanon desploie,
Et li vens se fiert ens qui les langues baloie.
Molt resemblent bien gent qui a force guerroie ;
Ja ne perdront de terre, s'il puënt, une roie,
Et la pöour du perdre les semont et asproie ;
De lor paijs desfendre nes .i. ne s'afebloie
Et dïent bien entr'eus qu' Alixand' foloie,
Ne tienent rien de lui, a grant tort les pledoie :
En tel lieu met s'entente ou folement l'enploie !
Molt pense hautement quant tante gent chastoie !
N'a talent, ce m'est vis, que encor se recroie,
Mes au partir de nous ert chaint de tel coroie
Ja ne li covendra de ce dont plus dannoie.

Emenidus apele Lyone, si li proie
D'aler a Alixand' ; por le secors l'envoie,
Et s'il fait ce mesage, tout le pris l'en otroie.
Et Lyones respont que ja puis Dieu ne voie
Que il aille el mesage dessi que l'en l'encroie :
" Mes escus est tous sains et ma lance ne ploie !
Ce diroit Tholom' que de päour fuiroie
Et Danclins ses conpains, qui as tentes s'ombroie,
La gent qu'ai amenée en ce champ guerpiroie !
Li rois les me charga et sans eux m'en iroie !
Dont porroit il bien dire que traïtres seroie !
Miex voil avoir percié d'une lance le foie
Que je aille el message dessi que l'en m'encroie ! "

12 EMENIDUS apele le hardi Perdicas :
" Car nous fai cest mesage ! biaus amis, car i vas ! "
Et cil li respondi : " Or ne m'amés vous pas !
Ains vous vorrai aidier a descroistre ce tas,

11, 7. aproie.
N.B.—Lines 8-20 *of the French are not rendered in the Scots.*

11, 6. H Il apiela les Grius. 7. *a proie*] H ; V an proie. 8. V **om. lines** 8-20. H Calnu prist i. pignon contre vent le desploie ; I Cascuns de cex de G. s. c. d. 9. H i feri. H q. l. landes ondoie. 10. H M. resambloient g. *a*] H par. 11. H J. n. perderont t. se il pueent plain doie. 12. *asproie*] H aigroie. 13. *nes .i.*] H nus daus. 14. H Ains disoient e. Alixandres f. 15. H guerroie. 16. H a malement l. 17. H mestroie ; I caroie. 18. H quil encore r. 19. H cains. 20. *couendra*] H sovenra. H desvoie. 22. *le*] V lez. H p. souscors li envoie. 23. *len*] H en. *ce mesage*] V cest afere. 24. H I.. li a dist. HV i. p. Dex n me v. 25. *Que il aille*] H Q. jou a ; V Q. aillie. H devant q. jou recroie ; V d. q. lem me c. 26. *sains*] H saus. 27. H Ja ; V Tost. *de*] H por. 28. H **om. line.** *as*] V a. 30. HV L. r. l. mescarga (V ma charges). *men*] V nen. 33. HV Q. jaie tesmognagne que vis recreans (V uif recreant) soie.
12, 2. *nous*] H me. V fetes. 4. H Ancois v. aiderai ; V Jo vodrai eider. I destruire.

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That semit thay wald be at assay.
And than of Grece the cheualry,
Thay war affrayit greatumly,
For thair was nane thar, I dar say,
Sa hardy that tuik tent to pray.
The gude Emynedus tuke Lyoun
And maid him prayer and sermoun
To pas thair errand to the King:
" Say, shir, gif ȝe will do this thing,
The pryse all hail of this iorne,
And our weilfair, sall ȝouris be."
Than said Lyon, " sa God me saif!
Sik pryse think I nocht to haif.
Na, I will nocht sik message ma,
Bot gif men trow me quhair I ga.
My helme, my sheild nor ȝit my speir
[Is] nouther brokin nor bowit in weir;
And Tholomeir weill syne sould say
I fled for cowardise away,
Or, gif I left in sic ane neid
The folke that I haue heir to leid
Micht say that thay haue euill warrand,
That fled and left thame barganand!
With thame will I tak gude and ill,
Lat God wirk syne quhat euer he will!"
EMYNEDVS sair noyit was,
And said to hardy Perdicas,
" Gude shir, gang [into] this message."
And he ansuered, as ane in rage,
" Thow lufis me nocht that sa me prayis!
I will abyde with the, neid-wayis,
To helpe the to pas this pace!

[Me

319. *thar*] that. 328. *nocht*] not.

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Si ert ma lance frete et mes escus tous quas,
Et mes chevaux corans ert revenus au pas,
Que g'isse de l'estor sain ne hetié ne cras !
Se je venoie au roi, armes saines et dras,
Et vous lessoie mort el val de Josafas,
Molt auroie bien fait le service Judas !
Li rois seroit mauvés se demain n'estoie ars ! "

13

EMENIDUS a dit : " Car i alés, Caulus !
L'un des .xij. pers estes, tant vous croira on plus,
Et dites Alixand' que tuit sommes conclus :
Se tost ne nous secort, mort sommes et confus,
Car o sa gent de Gadres nous a enclos li dus ! "
Et cil li respondi : " Cest afaire refus !
Par la foi que vous doi, biau sire Emenidus,
Quant g'istrai de cest champ, n'en i remaindra nus
Se ne sui mors ou pris ou tornés a dejus ! "

14

EMENIDUS a dit : " Alés i, Aristé !
Ja a il tant en vous vasselage et bonté !

12, 5. Siert. 8. roie. **13**, 4. vous.

12, 5. *Si*] H &; IV Ainz. H frainte; V freite. 6. [I **Mix voel jo estre oci ancui vencus & mas.**] 7. *sain*] H saus. *ne . . . ne*] H & . . . &. 8. V venisse. *roi*] HV. I a. u. en mes d. 9. H & v. laie morir. 11. *mauues*] H honis. *nestoie*] H estoit; V nere. *ars*] V tas.
13, 2. V ki rois eime p. 3. *conclus*] H confus. 4. HV nos. H soscors. H m. sont & confondus. 5. [H Nous somes es esprueve & il sunt au desus.] 6. H & Caunus l. respont. 7. *vous*] V li. H istrai. *nus*] H plus. 9. V S. einz n. s. m. *a deius*] H al desus; V el d.
14, 2. *bonte*] V fierte.

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Me leuer war, into this cace,
Wery and woundit with the be,
Than ony leuand man sould se
Me, haill and feir, into my micht,
For ony chance eschew the ficht;
And gif I now went to the King
And left 3ow heir in fell fechting,
I war mair tratour than Iudas,
And the gud King that wan Damas
War wickit, sa the Lord me sane!
Bot I to-morne war brint or slane!"
EMYNEDVS sayis to shir Caulus,
"Gang fetche the King to succour vs.
Ane of his Douze pers ar 3e,
3e fall ouer all mair trowit be!
Say to him, but he vs succour sone,
We ar all confusit and done,
For with his folke the duke Betys
Hes vs inclusit on sic ane wys
That it semis thay sparhalkis war
And we lawrokis, that durst bot dar!"
And he sayis, "shir Emynedus,
Perfay, this message is to refuse,
And, be the faith I to 3ow aw,
Quhan I for power, strenth or aw
Sall of this stalwart stour be gane,
Behind thair [I] fall nocht leif ane,
Bot gif I sa woundit be
That [I] micht set na help in ye."
Emynedus sais to Arreste,
"3e ar sa full of grete bounte
That 3e, I trow, will help at neid,

[To

373. yis. 374. yair. 377. arreste.

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Bien connois ce destrier sus quoi vous voi armé,
Que ne vous bailleroient trestuit cil qui sont né !
Et dites Alixand' que tant avons alé
Se tost ne nous secort, mort somes et finé !
Se nel faites por nous, si le faites pour Dé,
Et por l'amor du roi qui tant nous a amé ! "
Et cil li respondi : " Or avés bien parlé !
Ne vorroie estre sain por iceste bonté !
Au plus mauvés de tous m'i avés esgardé !
Alés i vous meïsmes qui l'avés porparlé !
Se jamés estïens de cest besoing torné,
Assés en petit d'eure m'en aurïés gabé !
Quant j'aurai mon escu et percié et troé
Et mon hiaume en .c. lieus trenchié et enbarré,
Et le branc de m'espée trestout ensanglenté,
Et je aurai le cors en plusors lieus navré—
Se donc vois el mesage que m'avés conmandé,
Ne dira pas li rois, Danclins ne Tholomé

13, 7. *nel*] *ne.* 10. i ceste.

14, 3. *Bien*] H Tant. *destrier*] H ceval. *quoi*] V ki. 4. H tout c. q. or s. n. 5. H dires. *auons*] V eimes. 6. *fine*] HV outre (V oltre). 7. *nel*] HV. *si le*] V veals. 8. HV & p. amor. H le. H que. *nous*] V vous. [H Ses pales & sounor & son argent donne.] 9. V C. l. a respondu. *or*] H ca. 10. *sain*] V sauf. H N. le v. avoir sacies de verite.

[H Por trestout lor del mont je vus dis par verte
Par foi Emenidus mult ai le cuer ire.]

11. H Quar i. des plus laniers maves ore e. 12. V Par ma foi v. m. 13. H Se vous me veisscies. V d. bosoigne t. 14. H m. averies g. 15. HV Quant aurai lescut fraint (V froit) **& le haubere fause.** 16. *mon*] H le. *trenchie*] V hoschee. 17. H *inverts ll.* 17, 18. *de mespee*] H acerin. H souille & maillente ; V tort & e. 19. H q. or maues rove. 20. *ne*] H &.

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To gar the King him hidder speid.
I knawe the steid that ȝe on ryde.
I wate that in this warld sa wyde
Is [na] hors that may him ouer-tak.
For vs the message man ȝe mak,
And say vnto our Lord the King
In his hand is our succouring;
And gif ȝe will this errand make,
All haill the pryse, I vndertake,
Of this iornay, and our weill-fair,
Sall ȝouris be for euermair.
And gif ȝe will nocht it for vs maik,
Gud shir, do it for Goddis saik
And for the gentill Kingis lufe,
That oft was wont for vs [to] prufe
Lufe, largenes and tendernes,
Gud cumpanie and humbilnes!"
And he answered and said, "Parde!
Into Paradise wald I nocht be
Halely to serue on sic seruis!
For the worst that amangis vs is
Me think that ȝe haue chosin me!
And in short tyme I trow that ȝe
Sould scorne me, fra I war went.
My haubrek salbe first to-rent,
And my helme also hewin be
In seir places, that men may se,
My sword richt in my hand bludy,
And I als woundit in the body
In sindrie places, or I ma
This message that ȝe carp of sa!
The King sall neuer haue na cause to say,

[Na ȝit

389. *our*] we. 391. *nocht*] not.

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Que m'en voient venir conme coart prové !
Je n'en prendroie mie tout paradys a gré
Par covent que n'eüsse en ce besoing esté ! "

15 QUANT voit Emenidus que por noiënt travaille,
Antigonon apele, qui fu nés de Soraille :
" Car alés ou message desus ce ceval baille
Qui plus vait de randon qu'esprevier qui prent quaille !
5 N'a plus isnel destrier jusques en Cornuaille !

13, 22. prenderoie ; agre.

14, 21. HV Quil m. (V ine) v. parti (V partir). **22.** *a gre*] HV. **23.** HV P. fi (V ce) q. jou (V ie) n.

15, 1. HV p. nient se t. (V travaillie ; *in* V *the* '*laisse*,' *except l.* **14**, *is in* -aillie). [HV Que (V Ne) pour lui ne feront qui vaille (V uaillant) une maaille.] **2.** H Antigonum ; V **Antigonus.** **3.** H Vus ires el mesage. H sor cel c. darcage ; V de suz cel serugaillie. **4.** *qui prent*] H apres **5.** V **om. line.** *destrier*] H ce val. *iusques*] H desi.

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Na 3it shir Tholomere, perfay,
That I fled hin for cowardise!
I wald nocht to haue Paradise
In thank to change, to be trewlie
Fra 3ow, out of this companie.
Thy-selfe may best this errand may,
That thou oft carpis to assay!"
Emynedus said him curtasly,
" Beuschir, 3e wait richt weill that I
Am Constabill ordaned be the King,
And hes 3ow heir in gouerning.
And I left 3ow but gouernall,
Fechtand in sa fell battall,
I sould all warldis honour tyne,
And, with gud richt, be hangit syne.
Bot had the King biddin 3ow be
Constabill, as he hes biddin me,
Than micht I weil this message ma,
And sould foroutin grudging ga.
Bot in this point it may nocht be,
For sen the King 3ow taucht to me,
Me had leuer die in bataill
Than ocht in my defalt sould faill."
QVHAN that the Duke sawe his trauaill
To get succour micht nocht availl
And that nocht ane wald for him ga,
In his hart he was wonder wa,
And to Antigonus said he,
" Gud shir, gif it 3our willis be,
To Tyre our message will 3e beir
Vpon that steid, that is suifter
Than is Sparhalk, Pertrik or quail3e?

[Say

413. *hin*] him. 437. *nocht*] not.
Lines 419-34 *of the Scots are not paralleled in our French MSS.*

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Et dites Alixand' qu'a cest besoing nous vaille !
Se tost ne nous secort nel tiengne mie a faille,
Ne trouvera el champ ne le grain ne la paille ! "
Et cil li respondi : " Or oi grant devinaille,
Ains ert mes haubers rons par desous la ventaille
Fo. 23v. Et je navrés el cors par desous la coraille !
Miex voel ci demorer en iceste bataille
Qu'emperere de Rome ne rois de Cornuaille !
Je remaindrai o vous ! Or querés qui i aille ! "

16 EMENIDUS d'Arcage Antïocum apele :
" Vous irois el mesage sus bauchant de Castele
Qui plus court de randon que ne vole arondele,
Et dites Alixand' qui tantes gens chadele :
Se tost ne nous secort, en si male roële
Nous somes enbatu qui ne li ert pas bele ;
Ne trovera mes nul en cheval ne en sele ! "
Et cil li respondi : " Or oi gente favele !
Quant verrai de mon branc sanglente la lumele,
Et mes escus ert frains sous la boucle novele,
Et mes haubers rompus par desous la mamele,
Et sus l'archon devant me gerra ma boële—
Lors irai je au roi par dessus la gravele,

15, 7. mi. 6. en batu. 10. frais.
16, 3. *ne*] *supplied.* 9. lalumele. 11. per.

15, 6. *qua*] H **a**. *nous vaille*] H ne **faille**. 7. H je nel tieg mie a f. ; V ne tenge mie a f. 9. *oi grant*] H oies. 10. *desous*] HV desus. 11. *desous*] H dales ; V desuz. [H Si que jus a la tiere me coulera lentraille.] 12. *ci demorer*] H estre avoec vus ; V morir ou vous. 13. V Questre emperor d. r. 14. *o vous*] H el camp. H & vus querres ki a. ; V querez autre q. a.

16, 1. H Antigonum ; V Antiochū. 2. *Castele*] V tudele. 3. *ne*] HV. 4. *tantes gens*] H mainte gent. 5. HV mal torne la r. 6. HV *om. line.* 7. H Nen. *i*] H nul. 8. H o. oies grant f. 9. H *places l.* 9 *after l.* 11, V *after l.* 12. HV Q. (H &) aurai. H la lemele ; V laleme. 10. HV Ains e. m. e. f. H par desous la mamele. 11. V desuz. *mamele*] H forciele. 12. H se gira m. boviele. 13. HV L. noncerai (V en irrai) a. r. a Tir sor la g.

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Say to the King, gif he vs failȝe,
To succour vs in full grit hy,
All deid in Gaderis mon we ly ! "
And he answered and said, " Parde !
Heir in this battell will I be,
To helpe ȝow for to leis ȝon rout.
Gif ony sall ga, foroutin dout
It sall ane vther be than I ;
For heir sall I dwell, sikkerly.
Of me sall na man say that shame,
That I am fra the battell gane,
And left my feiris in sic ane stour,
Quhair thay micht preue thair grit valour,
For-thy, gud shir, for cheritie,
Of that ȝe carpe na mair to me ! "
THE douchtie Duke Emynedus
Said efter to Antiochus,
" Into this message mon ȝe ga
On bausand that, I vnderta,
Is suifter than is foull of flicht.
Say to our nobill King of micht,
Bot he vs helpe with staluart hand,
He sall not sie vs on lyfe leuand."
Than answered he and said, " Perfay,
Quhan I haue bene in sic ane fray
That my sheild be to-frushit all,
My haubrek hewin in peces small,
And arme and shoulder all bludie be,
The Duke Betys and his menȝie
Be discomfite alluterly—
Than, gif I leif, I sall blythlie
Ga tell thir tythingis to the King ;
[He sall

473. *alluterly*] *printed almost as if two words*, "all uterly" : *it is difficult to say whether a space is intended or not.*

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Adonc saura il bien que voire est la novele !
Dehés ait, se g'i vois, qui honni ne m'apele !

17 EMENIDUS d'Arcage en apela Sanson :
" Car i alés ! " fait il, " gentil fils de baron,
Et dites Alixand' qui est fils Phelipon
Qu'il nous viengne secorre a coite d'esperon,
Car l'empire de Gadres nous enclot environ,
Et sont bien .xxx. mil, a itant les esme on ! "
Chil li a respondu : " Vous parlés en pardon !
Je sui ja tous armés et tieng mon confanon,
Desirans de ma terre dont li rois m'a fait don,
Et atent la bataille ; vés la ! ci ja l'auron !
Et or aille el mesage a guise d'un garchon !
Miex voil estre tornés a grant confusïon
Que g'isse de cest champ se mort ou navrés non.
Ou l'ounour en ert nostre, si que nous le verron,
Ou nous i morrons tuit, ja n'auron garison."
Quant l'ot Emenidus, si bessa le menton,
Lors regrete li cuens Tholomer et Cliton :
" Quant vous lessai as tentes, molt oi le cuer bricon ;
Hui partiront a duel li douse compaignon ! "

16, 15. De hes.

16, 14. H *om. line.* 15. H Dehait a. il sans moi ; V Dahaeit seinz i u. *honni*] H couart.

17, 1. *fait*] H dit. *de*] HV a. 3. *est*] HV fu. 4. V mut tost a esperon. 5. *enclot*] V a clos. *enuiron*] H a bandon. 6. V sūt trente millier. HV esmon. 7. HV & c. li respondi. 8. H Ia s. je t. a. 10. *ves la ci*] H desirant. 11. V Or irreie e. m. *a*] V en. *dun*] HV de. 12. V atornez. 13. *cest champ*] H lestor. 14. *Ou*] H &. H q. nos bien l. v. ; IV s. q. n. les vaincron. 15. H de verte le savon. 16. H baise. 17. *cuens*] I dus. H & regratte le roi. 18. *tentes*] H loges. HV m. o. sens (V sen) de b. ; I m. en fis que b. 19. H H. partirent. HIV a glaive (H glaves).

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He sal nocht call thame gabbing.
Gif I ga els, foule him befall
That recryand will nocht me call ! "
EMYNEDVS sayis, " shir Sampsoun,
Gang to the King, gentill Barroun,
And bid him cum into grit hy,
To succour vs with his cheualry,
For of Gaderis all the barnie,
That thretty thousand or ma may be,
With felloun battell hes vs socht."
He said, " shir duke, ȝe carp for nocht.
I sit all armit on my steid,
Richt freshely flowand in my weid,
ȝarnand to conqueir and to haif
The land that the gud King me gaif,
And abydis the battell heir,
That we sall haue richt sone but weir ;
And gif I ȝeid [in] this message
As sould ane knaif do, or ane page,
Than my worship war all in vane.
Me had leuer in feild be slane
Than leif the fecht in sik degre.
Outher sall thay all ouris be
Or we sall all die but ransoun."
Quhen that he herd, gud Emynedoun,
He kest doun his he[ve]de in hy
And regrated full tenderly
Of the King, Tholomere & Cliton,
And said, " now beis departicion
Of the Douze pers that ay
Thame prouit weill at hard assay ! "
With that, thay of that vther party

[Cryit

476 and 478. *nocht*] not.

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Et li dus lor escrie : " Tuit estes mort, glouton !
Ja guerpirois la proie ; nous le vous calengon !
De vos cors ne prendroie nes une raënçon ;
Tuit perdrois hui les testes sans autre devision ! "

18 QUANT voit Emenidus qui tant fait a loër,
Qu'en nul de ceux ne puet nul bon conseil trover,
Des biaus ieux de son chief conmencha a plorer
Et le Roy Alixand' forment a regreter :
" A ! frans debonaires, qui tant nous seux amer,
Tes pailes et ton or et ton argent donner,
Et tes beles richesces a chascun presenter,
Et tout quan que li dieu te lessent conquester,
Jamés ne te verrons, bien le puis afermer !
Ay ! con grant soufrete aurons de Tholomer
Et de Cliton le conte, qui les rens fait trembler,
Ne je ne puis ici nul chevalier trouver
Qui vait a Alixand' por ceste gent sauver ! "
A une part du champ conmence a esgarder,
Et vit .i. chevalier desous .i. arbre ester.
Corineüs ot non, ainsi l'oï nommer,

17, 22. prenderoie. **18, 9.** *te*] *om.* 12. ici ; *nul*] *om.* 13. *a*] *om.*

17, 20. *li dus*] H Betis. V tot i morrez gloton. 22. H D. racat nen prendroie ; V D. vous prendroie ie. If nesune ; V neis u. 23. V Trestoz perdrez l. t. H T. perderes l. t. ja naures garison.

18, 1. H *om. line* 1. 2. V *om. lines* 2 *and* 3. H Quant. I n. c. recovrer. [I **Qui sen voelle partir por les autres salver.**] 5. HV A f. rois d. *seux*] H sius ; V sols. 6. H nos soloies douner. 7. V *om. line.* 8. *quan*] H cou. *dieu*] I Griu. 9. *te*] HV. H je los b. afremer ; V sa tos b. a. 10. H & Dex ; V Ha deu. V si. H soufrance. *aurons*] HV ai hui. 11. H Clincon ; V Clicon. H q. f. l. r. H tranler ; V branler. 12. H & i. n. p. H ici ; V isci. *nul*] H ; V un. 13. HV Q. le voist dire **au roi** (V Ke uoit dire le Roi). 16. H C. o. a n. *ainsi*] H isi ; V eissi.

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Cryit, " ȝe sall all die haistely !
Leif ȝe the pray, we challenge it !
Or we sall reid ȝow sic ane fit
That ȝe sall all the headis tyne
Or die, ilkane, with dule and pyne ! "
QVHAN Emynedus had hard . . .
And his trauell was all in vane,
And that he micht find nane wald ga
His message, na his erand ma,
The teiris ouer his chekis ran,
And smertly he regratit than
Alexander, the nobill King,
And said, " a ! lord, at our all thing,
Was wount to lufe vs and to pryse,
And giftis gif on mony wyse,
Thy treasure and thy nobill steidis,
Thy gret riches and ryall weidis,
And all that God lattis the conqueir,
Thow geuis frely but dangeir,
On lyfe thou sall vs neuer sie !
Allace ! this day grit neid haue we
Of Danclene and of Tholomeir,
That in ane stour can weill thame steir ;
And I can find, for na kin thing,
Ane knycht that ryde will to the King,
To set helping in his menȝie.
Certis, I can na succour se."
He lukit than in feild him by,
And sawe ane gud knicht in great hy
Licht, him allane, vnder ane trie.
Corneus to name hecht he.
Pure of all gudis he was,

[Bot

520. *at our*] atour. 529. Dauclene.

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Povres hom est d'avoir, mes de cuer estoit ber.
Lors estoit descendus por son cors conraër,
Durement se penoit de son cors bien armer,
Car il voloit ce jor ceux de Gadres grever,
Son mautalent et s'ire desus eux desenfler,
Et l'ounor Alixand', s'il pöoit, alever.
Emenidus l'apele, qui molt sot bien parler :
" De ceste gent," fait il, " vous voil merci crïer.
Sire, par ta franchise, pense d'euls delivrer !
Se tu fais cest mesage, pres sui de l'afïer
Qu'encore t'en ferai du roi si mercïer
Grant masse te donra de l'or de cha la mer,
Et bon gré t'en sauront trestuit li .xij. per."
Et li vassaux respont : " Je me voil d'el pener !
Se secor volés querre, autre i covient aler.
Se je sui povres hom, ne me devés gaber ;
Nuls ne doit povreté ledement reprover,
Mes povres hom est vil, sel devroit on tuër,
Car a paine est si preus c'on le voille loër,
Ses œvres ne ses fais a nul bien atorner,
Por promesse d'avoir me volés vergonder,
Mes itant de respit vous vorrai demander

18, 20. *il*] *om.* 30. deil. 36. a torner.
28. chalamer. 35. apaine.

18, 17. H *om. line.* IV mais d. corage est (V e.) b. 18. *Lors*] H &. V atorner. 19. *cors*] HV **clef** (V chef). 20. *il*] H ; V i. *ce*] HV le. 21. H *inverts lines* 21-22. H Sire & s. m. H detorner.
[I Nies est Emenidus com li ot fait conter
Mais le verai estoire le me revelt falser
Car not onques neveu fors Pieron de Moncler].
22. V si poust enhaucer. 23. H ki biel savoit p. 24. *vous*] HV **te**. 27. H Que encor t. f. del bon r. m. 28. H & g. m. douner. HV d. l. doutre l. m. 29. HV & t. s. b. g. 30. H el vus volrai rouver ; V del m. lesses penser. 31. H *om. line.* 33. HV **Hom.** 34. H Mais le povre & le viel. 35. *a paine*] HV. *voille*] I doie. HV ounorer (V honorer). 36. *ses fais*] H li fait. *atorner*] HV. 38. *de*] H ce. *vorrai*] H voel jou ; V en voil.

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Bot of hart he had grete riches.
He panit him sa tentifly
To arme his hede and his body,
For that day thocht he for to greif
His fais, and his worship preif,
And suage on thame his matelent,
And with grete strenth and hardement
Manteme the kingis mense that day.
Emynedus meikly can him say,
" I cry the of thir folk mercy,
Schir, saif thame for ȝour courtasy!
And gif thow will do this message,
I am reddy in all ostage
That thow sall thank haif of the king,
And grete reward for thy ganging;
And the douze pers, gif thow will ga,
Sall ȝeild the mekill thank alsa."
The knycht said, " schir, be heuinnis king,
My thocht is on ane vther thing.
Gif that succouris mon gottin be,
ȝe mon ane vther send than me!
Thocht I be pure, in euill array,
I think my vertew to assay.
Men suld nocht repruf pouerte,
Thocht pure men ay skornit be,
For pure men sa vnwourthy is,
Vneis that ony will thame pryse,
Or loif, or turne thair deidis in gude.
For fare hecht wald ȝe change my mude
And shame me for hope of geuing.
For, be him that is heuinis King,
And I micht get [sa] lang laseir

[That

541. *sa tentifly*] satentifly.
545, 550. yame.
547. L. *Manteine.*
549. yir.
555. *thow*] yow.
559. *gottin*] gettin.

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Que me lessiés les las de mon elme fermer,
Et monter el cheval ou tant me puis fïer,
Puis, certes, vous envi del estour endurer !
Et, par icele foi que je vous doi porter,
Ce sachiés bien por voir, et sel vous puis jurer :
Quant partirai du champ, n'i vorrois demorer ! "
Emenidus respont : " Diex t'en doint bien ouvrer !
Par bon cuer i remains ! Je ne t'en sai blasmer."

19 EMENIDUS d'Arcage apela Festïon ;
Cil ert bien d'Alixand' du mieux de sa maison,
Fo. 24. Ses mestres chamberlens, que de voir le savon.
" Va," fait il, " di le roi de qui nos fiés tenon,
Hui est venus li jors que bien les deservon !
Li dus Betis de Gadres est plus fier d'un lïon ;
Chi nous a amené fiere processïon,
Et nous promet a faire dure confessïon.
Di le roi qu'il chevauche a coite d'esperon,
Resqueuë ses amis de mort et de prison !
Se tu fais ce mesage, tu auras guerredon
Et t'ame en ert el ciel, s'en auras vrai pardon !
Tu vois ci nostre mort que ici atendon.
Trop est grans li meschiés se a eux conbaton.

18, 43. *voir*] vous. 9. *roi*] *om.*
19, 5. Que hui. 12. *sen auras*] sauras.

18, 39. H laies ; V lessez. V noer. 40. H qui tant fait a loer. 41. H En apries [H Emenidus respont qui mult fist a loer]. 42. HV q. d. **le roi** p. ; I q. i. d. Dieu p. 43. *voir*] V. H C. s. tout de voir si los bien afier. 44. H volries [H Se souscours voles querre autre i convient aler]. 45. *ten doint*] H vus laist. 46. *sai*] H doi ; V pus.
19, 1. V apele. 2. H *ert bien*] H estoit. *sa*] H ma. 3. H en escrit le trueve on ; V ke d. fi l. s. 4. *di le*] V dire au. H V. tent f. i. au r. 5. *Hui*] H ; V Ou. HV q. **cler** (V cher) l. (H le) d. 6. *dun*] V que. 7. H Es. H pourciession. 8. H permet. 9. *roi*] H. *quil*] H si. V D. l. roi kor cheualst. 10. H Resceue ; I Rescoe. 11. *tu*] V tun. H sen **aures** g. 12. V sin auras ueir p. H Quar votre ame en sera la sus e. c. a mon. 13. *ici*] V nous ci. H T. ies **pries** de ta m. q. de fi le savon ; I T. vas querre no vie si nous i atendron. 14. H T. estera mescies. HV sensi (V seissi) nos c.

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That I micht pres[t] me in my gere
And lepe vpon my stalwart steid,
That oft hes helpit me in my neid,
I sall induce ȝow to begin
This bargane, quha-sa tyne or win!
And, be the faith that I aw to the king,
Quhen I, for force of hard fechting
Or dreid of dede, away sall ryde,
ȝe sall na will haue to abyde."
Emynedus ansuerit him till,
" Thow bydis with sa richt gude will
That I can on na wayis blame the.
God sawe the, gif his willis be!"
EMYNEDVS callit Festioun,
That was ane man of grete renoun,
And with Alexander was priuie;
His maister chalmerlane was he.
He said, " gang say our Lord the king,
That we hald of all our halding,
That the day is cummin that we
Sall by full dere his grete bounte,
For duke Betys, that bald baroun,
Hes brocht vs hard processioun,
And knychtis to assay vs sa
That nane on lyfe sall pas him fra!
Say the gude king he spedely ride
To succour vs in to this tyde.
And will ȝe, schir, do this erand,
ȝour saull ȝe bring to lyfe lestand!
ȝe se weill that ȝour dede is neir,
That at our hand is cumand heir.
The myscheif is to grete, I hecht,

[Gif

577. yat.
591. *cummin*] cumming.
594. *processioun*] possessioun.

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Se ne vient li bons rois que seignor reclamon,
Les elmes o les chiés perdrons sans raënçon,
Mes el fer de sa lance a nostre garison.
Des que bien me remembre de la sieue faiçon
Et des bones proësces que vëoir i solon,
Si me croist li corages vers ce pueple felon ;
Et m'est sempers avis que a tort les douton,
Conment que il nous aient ci trové a bandon.
Miex voil estre ferus el cors jusqu'au pomon
Que li champs soit guerpis se ainçois n'i joston ! "
Et li vassals respont ; " Or avés dit raison,
Biau sire Emenidus ; Or soions conpaignon,
Car, tant con je aurai se entier le blason
Ne le hauberc du dos ne le elme d'en son,
Ne partirai du champ, si verrai tel tençon
Dont li coart seront en molt male friçon.
Ices mauveses gens, por coi les criendrïon ?
Ains soions esprivier et il soient pinçon !
Se il sont plus de nous, tant bien les requerron
Que, par les premerains, ceux derriers esmaion !
Nous somes tuit eslit et conneü baron
Et priviés d'Alixand' qui nous a fait maint don.
Bien est, quant Diex le vuet, que merite en aion ;

19, 22. abandon. **28.** denson. **31.** I ces ; *criendrion*] crien brion.

19, 15. *ne*] HV ni. H de qui nos fies tenon (*cp. l.* 4). **16.** HV Les vies & les cies (V chiefs) sens r. (V sanz rechat i) perdron. **17.** *a*] H **gist** ; V tent. **18.** H Puis q. il m. r. **19.** V *om. line. bones*] H rices. H q. veir i **siut** on. **20.** *li*] H mes. **21.** V Ke **grantment** nes doton. **22.** *a bandon*] H ; V *as* P. **23.** *iusquau*] V & el. H M. voel e. tornes a grant confusion. **24.** *se*] V que. *aincois*] H **ca eus.** **26.** H *om. line.* **27.** *q*] H que. HV si. *le*] H mon. **28.** H &. *du*] H el ; V del. *den son*] V ; H en son. **29.** *tel*] H le ; V la. **30.** H ficon ; V friscon. **31.** HV **om. line.** **32.** V Ore. I faucon. H Or soies en porvance ne soies en fricon. **33.** *plus*] H mius. **34.** V Ker. H derier ; V detrers. H detrion. **36.** HV priue.

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Gif that we with sa mony fecht.
Bot gif the gude King cum, that we
Hald for our lord and avowie,
Helmis and heidis mon we tyne;
Bot in his sword lyis our helpyne.
Bot quhan that I vmbethink me
Of his great worship and bountie,
And of manheid and hie empryse
That we haue sene him do oft-syse,
My hart, it growis sa sturdelly
That I think of my-selfe ferly
That we sa greatly sould thame dread,
Suppose it now fallin be in dead
That at mischeif we fundin ar.
Me had leuer with dule and cair
Be deid, than thay vnsailȝeit be!"
Quod Festioun, "sa God me sie!
Gud shir, now haue ȝe spokin richt!
Now be we fallowis in this ficht!
I sall not pas out of this feild
Quhill I sie sa haill my sheild
And quhill I sie sa great mellie
That cowardis sall anoyit be.
Now be we Sparhalkis and thay Quailȝeis,
For multitude in fecht oft failȝeis!
Thocht thay be ma nor we, for-thy
Seik we the first sa sturdely
That the hindmaist abasit be!
We ar all chosin of great bountie,
And priuie with the nobill King
That geuis sa mony ryall thing;
And it is full gud richt that we

[Quyte

609. *quhan that*] that quhan. 633. *priuie*] prouit.

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De vivre ou de morir a hounor entendon,
Que li nostre oir n'en aient vilaine retraçon
Ne li mainnes rois honte, quel fin que nos façon,
Ne vers n'en soit oïs de mauvese canchon.
En tant lieus ont esté taint nostre confanon
Et por ce n'est pas drois que nous espoënton.
Soions de bon confort et nos cuers afermon,
Car de trop cremir mort ne vient se honte non.
Au premerain s'en fuit qui trop doute prison.
Qui muert por son seignor, o Dieu a mansïon.
Les amis Alixand' ancor hui connoistron ;
Se nus l'aimme de cuer, au ferir le verron ! "

EMENIDUS regarde desous .i. olivier,
Descendre vit a terre .i. povre chevalier,
Sa sele r'avoit mise et cenglé son destrier,
N'avoit ensamble o lui sergant ne escuier.
Il ot lance et escu et espée d'achier,
Mes n'ot hauberc ne hiaume que il eüst molt chier ;
N'ot plus de toutes armes, plus n'en pot esligier,
Et celes furent tex, s'il les vosist lessier,
Ja frans hom par nature ne les daignast baillier.
Gros fu par les espaules et leis par le braier,
Et grelles par les flans et le visage fier,

20, 1. sesous. 9. bailler.

19, 38. *ou*] V &. H & d. v. & d. mort. HV lounor. 39. HV Si q. 40. V maignes. H N. l. r. nen ait h. de qui nos fies tenon (*cp.* **19**, *ll.* 4 *and* 15). 41. *ois*] H **cantes**. V N. v. nous n. s. o. 42. H porte no c. 43. *&*] V Ke. H Que il n. p. or d. 44. *bon*] H cou. H & si nos afremon ; V & n. quors refermon. 45. *cremir*] H douter ; V crendre. *ne*] H nen. 46. HV As premerains (V premereins). H fuie. 47. *a*] H ot. IV o (V od) D. a (V en) sa maison [V Aura sanz nule fin noble mansion]. 48. H Nos a A. que nous bien connisson. 49. H Sil nous aime d. c.

[H & li dus lor escrie tout i more gloton
Tout guerpires la teste nos le vus calengon
De racat en ores nesune raencon
Vus perderes les testes pardesous le menton
(*practically a repetition of* **17**, *ll.* 20-23)].

20, 1. H esgarde. *desous*] H ; V de sor. 2. H Descendu. *cheualier*] V soldeer. 3. V auoit. *& cengle*] H recaingle. 4. *o*] H *om.* *escuier*] H chevalier. 5. *lance*] H **elme**. 6. HV **om. line**. 7. H Navoit. HV **car nes p. e.** 9. *nature*] V droiture. *daignast*] HV deust. 10. H & le viaire ot fier (*cp. next line*). 11. H & les par le braier (*cp. prec. line*).

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Quyte him merite for his bountie.
To leif or die quhidder God will send,
Luke with honour that we [sa] wend
That our airis nocht blamit be,
Na ȝit the King in na degre
Haue shame, quhat ending that we ma,
Nor na man euill rehersing ma,
To sing of vs efter our day.
Our hardiment sall we assay,
For in fele places haue we bene,
Our hardiment with worship sene,
That we na wayis sould vs mismay,
Bot be of gude comfort ay;
For to dreid deid sa grittumly
May fall bot shame, full sikkerly;
Quha for his Lord dois, he sall be
Harbreid with Angellis gle.
The Kingis freindis sall to-day
Be knawen in this hard assay;
Quha lufis his honour, he sall be
Renoumed in this great mellie!"
EMYNEDVS beheld him by,
Beheld ane pure man anerly
Licht, him allane, vnder ane tre,
That had nocht bot his hors and he,
Ane sheild, ane helme, ane suord but mair,
And thay ȝit sa vnworthie ware
That nane that worth war, wald thame ta,
Bot gif he wald cast thame him fra.
Richt stout visage and fair he had,
With browis brent and shoulderis braid,
And small in vame and als lenȝie.

[Ane

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Blonde chaveleüre, et longue por trecier,
Et grant enfourcheüre por le miex chavauchier.
Emenidus l'esgarde, que molt fist a prisier,
Et dit entre ses dens, soëf et sans noisier :
" Se cist avoit proësce, bien samble chevalier !
Por fil d'empereör nel devroit l'en changier ! "
Mes s'il le conneüst, il l'eüst forment chier ;
Nés fu de sa seror, fils d'un riche princhier.
Daires l'avoit tenu .xiiij. ans prisonnier,
Petit i fu portés por son pere ostagier,
Eschapés lor estoit a l'issir d'un jenvier ;
En l'ost le roi de Grece ert venus avant-ier,
Encor nel connoissoit sergant ne chevalier.
Emenidus l'apele, sel prist a aresnier :
" Amis, en ce mesage vous vorrai envoier.
Car i alés por Deu, et por nous conseillier !

20, 12. chauelure. 15. souaet. 23. auantier.

20, 12. H B. ceveleure ; V B. ot la cheuelure. V tresser. 13. H aforceure ; V aforcheure. 14. V E. le garde. *que molt*] H qui tant ; V ke bien. 15. HV coiement (V souët) s. n. 17. HV nel convenroit (V couendroit) c. 18. *sil*] V si. 19. H **Fius.** H il leust forment chier (*repeated from prec. line*). 22. HV a lentree de Jenvier (V al entrer de genuer). 23. *ert*] H est. H avant hier ; V auant er. 24. *nel*] V ni. H Encore ni connoist. H haut home n. princier ; V riche hō ne t'rer. 25. H acointier. V si p. aresomer. 26. *vous*] V te. H volroie. 27. *nous*] H vous.

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Ane large fute and fair had he,
Crispit hair and sumdele broun ;
His hede he bair as ane lyoun ;
With lymmys square and manly maid,
And armys lang and schoulderis braid.
Quhat sall I say of his renoun ?
He was sa fair of all fassoun
That nane farar mycht fundin be.
He was man of grete quantatie,
His beird of new begouth to spring . . .

* * * * * *
* * * * * *

" Had he bene dicht in gude armyng,
Amang fyue houndreth suld thair be
Sa knycht-lik man to cheis as he ?
Men suld nocht in ane stalwart stour
For the sone of ane empriour
Change him, as me think sickerly."
Bot had he knawin him werraly,
He suld haue haldin him full dere ;
His sister sone he was, but were,
Gottin of ane prince of grete renoun.
Daurus had haldin him in presoune
Weill .xiiij. ȝere before, ane page,
For his father in to hostage.
Large he was and fair of feir,
And to the oist of Grece, but weir,
Thre dayis before, cummin he was
Richt as it hapnit him per cais,
Bot ȝit had he nocht sene the King,
Na knew bot quhein of his duelling.
EMYNEDVS sais to him, " gude freind,
In this message I pray the weind !
Ga furth, gif that thy willis be,

[To

669. *Crispit*] Cristall.
677. *Some lines seem to have been dropped.*
679. yair.
689. *.xiiij.*] .xv. *ane*] of ane.
691. *Lines* 691-92 *are transposed.*
695, 698. ye.
698. yis.
699. yat.

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Et dites Alixand' qu'il nous viengne aïdier,
Et c'onques en .i. jor ne pot tant găaignier
Con de sa gent secorre ne de ceux empirier
Qui nous cuident ancui ledement damagier.
N'avés pas bones armes ; remanoir ne vous quier,
Et hom qui n'est armés ne se puet preu aidier.
En si aspre bataille n'aurïés vous mestier ;
Mes alés, si pensés du message esploitier " !
Et cil li respondi belement, sans tencier :
" Biau sire Emenidus, ne me devés proier !
Ne me connoist li rois, ce me puet annuier,
Ne par itex paroles ne me quier acointier.
Ja de povre home estrange ne faites mesagier !
Envoiés i plus riche, qui miex sache plaidier !
Ja Dieux, se je i vois, ne m'en doint repairier !
Certes, je ne fui onques en nul estor plenier ;

20, 29. gaignier. **31.** *damagier*] empirier.

20, 28. H **sil n. venoit a.** ; V ke il n. uegne eyder. **29.** HV Conques e. i. seul j. H gaegner ; V gaangner. **30.** V Ne d. s. g. rescoure. H & pour ceus damagier ; V ne dautres empeirer. **31.** H Quil. H mult forment enpirier ; V leidement damager. **32.** V demorer. **33.** *In place of line* 33 HV *has :*

Por cou que cest messages ne voellies esploitier
(V P. ce ceste message puissez espleiter).

34. *In place of ll.* 34, 35 H *has :*

Vus ferai c. M. dor douner au repairier
Dont pores acater & harnas & destrier.

35. V *om. line.* **36.** V bonement. **37.** *Emenidus*] H chevaliers. *me*] H men. **38.** HV Ciertes **onques n. vit** (V Vnkes n. m. conuth) Alixandre dalier. **39.** H N. jou p. tel parole. HV ne mi voel (V uoyl) a. **40.** H *om. line.* **41.** V parler. **42.** *doint*] HV **lest.** V retorner. **43.** H Par foi. *nul*] H grant.

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To bring vs of this perplexitie,
Thir folke that ar into sik thrang.
For Goddis lufe prais the to gang
And say to Alexander, gif he
Will vs reskew with his barnie,
That he wan neuer sa mekill ane day
As in this bargane win he may.
For he may succour his menȝe
And victor of his fais to be.
Thay think as now to skaith vs sa
That nane sall quick eschaip thame fra
Thow hes, me think, na gud arming,
And to byde, it is perrillous thing;
And, gif thow will do this message,
Thow sall haue vnto thy vantage
Ane hundreth pund of gold, perfay,
And thair-with-al by the thow may
Arming and hors of grit bounte."
" A beauscheir," to the duke said he,
" ȝe sould nocht make me prayer!
ȝit sawe I neuer the King, but weir,
Na with sik tythandis, for na chance,
Think I to mak my first quentance.
ȝe sould not mak ȝour messinger
Of ane pure man that strange wer.
Send to him ane richer man,
That do ȝour erand better can;
And gif I ga, God, for his will,
Lat me neuer cum agane ȝow till!
ȝit was I neuer in ane stour
Quhair I micht preue my valour,
And into this I think to-day

[To

719. *nocht*] not.

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Fo. 24v. En cestui me vorrai, se je puis, assaier.
Bien tost ou vous ou autre i puis avoir mestier.
Sachiés d'une parole me puis bien affichier :
Que ja Diex ne garisse le mien cors d'enconbrier
Se de l'estor partir me vëés hui premier !
Molt aurai grant corrous s'aus premerains ne fier ! "

H EMENIDUS d'Arcade fu enbrons et pensis
Quant voit que del mesage li est cescuns escis.
L'aighe des ious li file tout contre-val le vis ;
Bien voit, s'il n'a soscors, n'en estordera vis.
Devant lui vit armé i. chevalier de pris ;
C'est Caunus de Milaite, c'on claime Menalis ;
Armes avoit plus blances que ne soit flors de lis.
Emenidus l'apele,* a proier li a pris
Qu'il voist dire Alixandre a Tyr, qu'il l'a asis,
Que mult tos le souscore, car a mort est aquis.
Cil entent le parole, d'orguel a fait i. ris
Et li a respondu, com hom maltalentis :

This 'laisse,' corresponding to ll. 745-92 of the Scots text and absent in MSS. P *and* V (*and apparently* I), *we supply from MS.* H *as printed in Michelant, p.* 106, *l.* 38—*p.* 107, *l.* 30. *It is 'laisse' No.* 24 *of* H.

* *printed* li apele.

20, 44. H or en droit e. V E. c. si io pus m. uoldrai e. 45. H B. t. vus u autrui.

[HV **Se je nai bones armes a lestor commencier**
Jou aurai se Deu plest (V Je porrai bien auoir) **millors ains lanuitier.**]

46. HV & (V Mes) dune autre parole me voel ore (V bien) a. (H enficier). 47. H dencontrier. 48. *hui*] V uif. 49. *corrous*] HV essone (V essoine). *saus*] H se. *ne*] H ni. V si io premers ni fieer.

H, 1. H esgarde. *le*] H i. 2. HV i. c. apiele.

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To byde, and my vertew assay.
And ȝit may fall in this battale
To ȝow and ȝouris I may avale ;
And thocht I haue na gud arming
Now at the battell beginning,
I think, or it all endit be,
That I sall haif aneuch, parde !
Sa helpe me God, that mekill may !
Ane thing I will heir to ȝow say :
Thair sall na thing abase me sa
That I first of the feild sall ga !
And ȝit I sall anoyit be,
Bot I be first at the mellie ! ”
EMYNEDVS kest doun his face
And in his hart great anger hes.
Quhan he sawe that na man wald ga
In the message, bot sonȝe ma.
The teiris in great plentie
Ran ouer his cheikis for pure pitie,
For he wist, but thay had belyue
Rescours, sould nane be left on lyue
Of all that was into that rout.
Sa saw he Caulus, that was stout,
Arme him as man of grit valour,
His armes quhyter far than flour.
Emynedus meikly can him pray,
To pas furth to the King, and say
That thay war all but deid and done,
Bot he with strenth thame succour sone.
Quhan Caulus hard his carping,
He leuch for pryde, as in hething,
And angerly can answer ma,

[Thow

747. naman.

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" Par foi, Emenidus, n'estes pas mes amis
Quant vus de cest afaire m'avés ore requis !
Damel Dex me confunde, qui est poësteïs,
Se por vus ne por honme * hui cest jor me honnis !
Ja sui je tous armés, or m'en alle fuitis !
Je nel feroie mie por l'or de Miravis
Devant que mes aubers soit rompus et malmis
Et mes cors estroés et perciés et malmis !
Li rois m'a ja Melans otroié et promis,
Versgaus et Ivorie et trestout le païs,
Et trestoute la tiere de si a Mon Senis.
Qui tel fief done a homme, bien doit ses anemis
Tant soufrir en estor qu'il en aient le pis.
A nule riens el mont n'est mes cors ententis
Se a mon signor non essaucier nuis et dis.
Quant jou sui † el ceval, ma glave el feutre mis,
Si sui aussi seürs com ‡ fusce en paradis ;
Ainc de faire mesage encore n'entremis
Ne ne ferai hui més ; de çou soiés tous fis ! "

21 EMENIDUS regarde par mi le champ a destre,
Et vit .i. chevalier qui mieudre ne puet estre,

* houme. † suel. ‡ come.

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" Thow art na freind that chargis me sa !
God me confound gif I schemit be
To-day, for vthir or for ye !
I sit all armyt on my steid,
And gif I fleand fra 3ow 3eid,
I seruit 3ow of euill seruice.
I do it nocht for all paradice,
Before that my gude habersoun,
That now is of ane fyne fassoun,
In sindry placis to-fruschit be ;
And, or I pas, I trow that 3e
Sall se my body of blude all rede,
Woundit in perell of the dede.
The king hes geuin me grete cuntreis
And rentis of mony fare Cieteis,
And he that sa grete feis tais
Suld the strenth of his lordis fais
Suffer sum quhile at grete myscheif,
Thocht dede appeir, perell and greif.
My hart is set vpon na thing
Bot how I may, but soiornyng,
Auance my lordis honour ay ;
And sen I am in sic array
And stridin our my stalwart steid,
I am traistar, sa God me speid,
Than I into ane castell ware.
I intromettit me neuer are
In message for to do nor say ;
Nane will I, certis, do this day ! "
EMYNEDVS lukit him by,
And saw ane knycht in full grete hy
Array him on ane ryall steid.

[He

771, 774, 779. yat. 794. fullgrete.
776. ye.

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Cousin germain estoit Arides de Vallestre.
Il li dist : " Biaus amis, por Dieu le roi celestre,
Di le roi, va vers l'ost, lés ce brueil a senestre,
Que nous viengne secorre o sa gent nostre mestre !
Onque si felon champ n'acointasmes a pestre.
Tout le plus viel de nous n'i vosist encor estre,
Et tout li plus hardis s'amast miex a Guincestre ! "
" Je n'irai pas," fait cil, " qui que s'en doie irestre,
Se en ce mien escu ne voi ains tel fenestre
Que bien saura li rois que autre ne puet estre,
Et le champ dont je part n'est pas jeus de palestre ! "

22 EMENIDUS d'Arcage vit le duc aätir
De grant mellée rendre, de grant estor soffrir,
Et vit aus premerains les fors escus saisir,
Et les hanstes de fresne paumoier et tenir,
Tant riche confanon contre le vent bruïr,
Tant elme vert et cler au soleil resplendir,
Sous tant corant destrier ot la terre fremir,
Ces moïnniaus souner et ces tambors tentir,

21, 20 sau. 3. au.
22, 1. a atir. 5. broier.

21, 3. HV Cousins germains. H Aride. 6. V Cor. *o sa gent*] HV en cest camp. 7. HV Onques mais n. (H nacointastes) isi (V nul si) f. a p. 8. H Tous li miudres d. n. vorront or e. a nestre. 9. H volront m. as gues estre. 10. H Nirai mie f. c. ; V Nirrai p. dist li quons. *que*] HV qui. 12. *autre*] H miudres. *puet*] V pot. *An extra line occurs in* H *here, and in* V **after line 13**, *viz.:* [HV **& li cevaus sor moi na pas ale en destre** (V Ne li cheuals desoz moi nest trop alee en destre)]. 13. H Ne. H dabalestre.

22, 1. I les Grius. *aatir*] H. 2. H D. grans mellees faire. H d. durs estors s. ; V & del e. s. 3. H voit. *aus*] H as. V As p. les lances & les e. s. 4. *tenir*] H branlir ; IV brandir. 5. V brunir. HI & voit t. c. c. solel jesir (I encontre mont bruir). 6. *au soleil*] H ilueques. 7. H & t. ceval c. a la tiere tentir ; I T. rice cor divoir souner & retentir. 8. H moieniaus ; V menuals. H tabors. V tabours & **cors** bondir.

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He was ane of the gud at neid
That micht be fundin in ony cuntre ;
He was neir sib to Areste.
Emynedus sais, " for Goddis saik,
This message for vs will ȝe maik ?
Gang to the hoist and tell the King,
Bot he him speid in our helping,
For we had neuer sa hard assay,
The stoutest of vs all, perfay,
Sall sone ȝarne erar hame to be
Than haue all France in his pouste."
And he said, " how that euer it ga,
This message will I na way ma,
Quha-euer thairat wraith or blyth be.
Into my sheild first sall I sie
Sik woundis that the King sall say
That I come fra na herdis play,
Na that my steid sall nocht be
Sa greatly soiornit vnder me."
EMYNEDVS saw neir approchand
His fais richt felloun, neir cumand
As folk that war of grit rigour,
Reddie to ȝeild that stalwart stour.
He sawe thame first thair sheildis ta,
Thair brandis and stith speiris alsua.
He sawe sa feill broudin baneris,
And pennomis vpon seir maneris,
And helmis als and vther armin,
That cleirly agane the Sone shein ;
And mony steid stith steirand
He saw into the front cumand ;
Trumpetis, Taburnes and hornes blast
[Soundit

800. *will*] that.

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La plus fiere ost du mont s'en peüst effraïr.
Arides de Valestre sist sus baiart de Tyr
Dont il ot abatu Lanides de Mommir.
Emenidus l'apele a plor et a soupir :
" Ha ! sire, car pensés a ceste gent garir !
Ne voi mes nul secors se m'en volés faillir.
Tel m'ont hui du mesage respondu lor plaisir
Qui en seront encui trop tart au repentir.
Tant avons devisé tart sera au choisir
Le quel nous vient miex faire : ou atendre ou fuïr ?
Et li vassaux respont : " Dés or me puis haïr
Puis que l'en ne me puet au grant fais sostenir.
L'en me soloit jadis o les meillors soffrir,
Et nequedent bien doi si preudomme obeïr,
Car onc mieudre de vous ne pot lance tenir.
Por vous et por le roi que tuit devons servir,
Et por ceux que je voi en essai de morir,

22, 19. desor.

22, 9. I cuers. H esfreir. 10. H Aristes. H Beart ; V bayard. 11. H Ladinet d. Montir ; V danclines d. mũttinir. 12. *a . . . a*] HV o . . . o. 13. V Bel. *a*] HV de. 14. H Ni u. or m. soscors. *mens*] V nous. 16. V Ke serunt einz la nuit. 17. H *om. line. deuise*] IV **atendu.** IV serons. 19. *des or*] HV. 20. *puet*] H viut. V Des q. lem n. m. pot. H au besoig sostenir ; V a g. meintenir. 21. H *om. line.* V Je soleie ia ben grant estor esbaudir. 22. V nepourquant. H a tel home o. 23. *Car onc*] H Onques ; V Car nul. H puet. 24. *tuit*] V tant. 25. *ie*] HV ci. HV perir.

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Soundit sa hideously and sa fast
The greatest hoist, and the stoutest,
Of ony cuntre, and the best,
Suld of that sicht abasit be.
Besyde him thairwith can he sie
Areste, that was gude at neid,
Sittand all armit on his steid,
And, gretand than with sair siching,
He said, " guid shir, for heuinis King,
Haue of thir folke reuth and pitie,
For, certis, I can na succour sie,
Gif ȝe vs failȝe to set helping.
The laif hes me ansuered at thair lyking,
And tauld me largely thair intent,
Bot all to lait sall thame repent.
Sa lang thairon standin haif we
That lait it is to luke and sie
Quhidder is better to byde or fle away."
And he ansuered and said, " perfay,
I sie ȝe hait me vterly,
Quhan ȝe will not lat me byde ȝow by,
The great charge of the stour to beir.
Men war wont sum tymes heir
To cheis me with the best to be,
And ȝe now tuise hes prayit me.
Bot nocht-for-thy men sould meikly
Obey to sa guid and worthy
As ȝe ar, for better than ȝe
May neuer with sword beltit be.
Thairfoir for ȝow and for the King,
That hes vs all in gouerning,
And for the folke, that I heir sie

[In

836. L. *gud.* 839. L. *us.* *In* (catch-word)] To.

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Le mesage ferai (que Dieus m'en doint joïr !),
Mes ains verrai mon elme embarrer et croissir,
Et mon escu percier, mon hauberc desartir,
Et le sanc de mon cors a grant randon issir,
Le cheval desous moi d'aigre suŏr couvrir.
Ne me devra nus hom gaber au departir,
Ne li rois trop blasmer se a lui puis venir."
De .ij. pars s'entrevienent, apresté de ferir.

23 MOLT furent pau li Grieu, mes bel se conforterent ;
Tuit descendent a pié, conmunement s'armerent,
Lor poitraux ont restrains, lor chevaux recenglerent,
Pignonciaux et enseignes en lor lances fremerent ;
Au plus tost que il porent, de s'armer se hasterent,
Lor escus a lor cols, sus lor chevaux monterent,
Estroitement chevaucent et sagement errerent.

22, 26. masage. 33. aprester.
32. *se a lui*] salui. **23**, 5. *sarmer*] larmer.

22, 26. *mesage*] V message. H L. mesage en f. H & Dex m. lest i. ; V dous nous en d. i. 27. H quoisir. 28. V dementir. 29. V *om. line.* 30. H daighe [HV **Sans** (V Sanz bien) **veraies ensegnes ne voel le camp guerpir**]. 31. *me*] H men. 32. *se a lui*] HV. 33. H **sentrefierent.** H par mervillous air ; V apreste d. f.

23, 1. H preu. *mes*] H **&.** *bel*] HV bien. H sen. 3. [IV Lor guices acorcierent (V racorcerent) & lor resnes noerent.] 4. V *om. line.* H E. & pignons. *en*] H sor. 5. HV *om. line.* 6. *lor*] H les. 7. I esterent.

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In perrill and in perplexitie,
This message do for ȝow I will,
Gif God will gif me grace thair-till.
Bot my sheild suthly first shall be
To-hewin, that men sall weill it sie,
My helme and als my habersoun;
And I sall sie in grit fusoun
The blude rin out of my body,
And my steid, that is gude, sall halely
Be haillit in blude and sueat alsa;
But verray takinnis I will nocht ga.
Quhan I am stad as I ȝow say,
And I than prayit be, gif I may
Haif mycht and space and lyfe thairto,
This message glaidly will I do.
Thair sall nane mak at me scorning,
Gif I may, at my departing,
Na ȝit the King sall nocht blame me
To gretly, gif I may him se."
With that, thay war on athir side
All reddy semblit for to ryde,
With vapnis that war bricht as flour,
Redie to ȝeild that stalwart stour.
The knychtis of Grece [were] quhone, bot thai
Gouernit thame-self wysly, perfai.
Thai lichtit all in full grete hy,
And armyt thame all comonly,
Gaderit thare hors and knyt thair renȝes,
And to thair speris fesnit senȝeis,
And syne lap on thair steidis styth,
And embraissit thair scheldis swyth.
Thay raid wisly and in gude array,

[And

---

870. *nocht*] not.
872. yan.
873. yairto.
881, 882. yat.
883. *were ȝuhone*] quhom; *thai*] yai.
884, 886. yame.
886. *all comonly*] full cumly.
887. yare; yair.
889, 890. yair.

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Lors dist li uns a l'autre que " bones œvres perent " ;
Les paroles sont bones a ceux qui bien ouvrerent.
La fu grans li meschiés ou li Grieu asamblerent
A l'empire de Gadres, quant ensemble josterent,
Car ne sont que .vij. cent et cil .xxx. mil erent.
As premeraines jostes forment i mescheverent,
D'un de lor meillor homes le jor se desevrerent,
Dont en ice besoing plus se desconforterent.
Alixand' le roi maintes fois regreterent,
Car il par sont si pou que entr'eux ne reperent ;
Ne porquant tant i furent que chier le conpererent.

24 AL'ASEMBLER des Griex josta primes Sansons,
Desirans de sa terre dont li fu fais li dons ;
Il et li dus Betis brochent des esperons,
Si grans cox s'entre-donnent, bessiés les confanons,
Que li hauberc fausserent trés par mi les blasons ;
Et Sanses de sa lance a fait .iiij. tronchons,

23, 11. en semble. 15. i ce.
14. i mescheuerent (*repeated from prec. line*). **24**, 5. faussent.

23, 8. *Lors*] H &. *que*] H les. 9. *bones*] HV beles. H q. bel errerent. 11. *ensemble*] V ; H ensamble. H ajosterent. 12. H cor. 13. H A. H mescierent ; V meschiuerent. 14. *se desevrerent*] H ; V i mes errerent. 15. H icel ; V itel. *plus*] I puis. 16. *roi*] HV jour. 17. H Quar i. erent s. poi. H q. a paines i perent ; V ka grant peine entre eus perent. 18. HV P. t. i esturent (V iouste).

[H As espees trancans grans cos sentredonerent
Tant fierent as premiers que cier le conparerent
Ne au partir del camp luns lautre ne gaberent.]

24, 1. *primes*] HV premiers. 2. H d. li **rois** l. fait don. 3. *brochent*] V fierent. 4. H si en ciet li b. 5. HV fauserent. H si en ciet l. b. 6. HV S. **brisa** (V brise) s. l. **sen volent** li t. (V kel vole par t.)

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And ilk man can to vther say,
" Sie that our worship now appeir " ;
For the wordis richt lykand weir
That men speikis of thame that dois weill.
The myscheif was to great to feill
That thay of Grece, that war sa wicht,
Assemblit in the feild to fecht
With thame of Gaderis, the grete empire,
That all inflammit war with ire,
That ma than .XXX. thousand wair,
And thai bot seuin houndreth, but mair
Thai misfell at thare first semble,
For ane that was of maist bounte
Amang thame at thare first meting
Was slane, but ony vther recouering.
That stoneit thame gretlie that day,
And Alexander regratit thay,
Bot nocht-for-thy thai sauld him dere,
Bot thai swa quhein amang thame were
That vneis micht thai knawen be,
Or sene, amang that grete menȝe.

HEIR the furriours and thair fais,
Assemblis and grete melle mais,

First at the semble of the ficht
Iustit schir Sampsone, for he was wicht,
That for to win had grete ȝarning
The land that him had geuin the king.
He and the duke Betis, thai tua,
With speris stracht can thai ga,
And straik sic straikis till blasonis
Thirlit haistaly thare habirgeonis.
Sampsone in flenderis brak his spere,

[Bot

898, 899. ye.
899. gaderis.
900. L. *inflamit.*
902, 909, 910, 911, 917, 918. yai.
903, 905, 920. yare.
905, 907, 910. yame.
908. *thay*] ay.
909. *sauld*] suld.
910. *swa*] saw.
919. blasoms.

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Et li dus le feri, iriés comme lyons,
Que desous la mamele li copa les roignons,
Toute plaine sa lance, l'abat mort des archons ;
Outre s'en est passés si joins conme faucons,
Par contraire li dit : " D'un plet estes semons
Dont ja par vostre bouche jugement n'i orrons !
Hui saura Alixand' que de riens ne l'amons,
Et li sires de Tyr que de vous le vengons ;
Ne tenrois de sa terre fermetés ne doignons ! "

LA fu molt grans li duels ou Sanses fu chëois,
Il jut mort a la terre, sus son escu tous frois.
La veïssiés les Griex corrouciés et destrois,
Emenidus le pleure et se pasme .iij. fois,
Bonement le regrete et despiece ses dois :
" Gentis rois Alixand', jamés ne nous verrois !
Hay ! que n'estes ci, gentis sires adrois ?
En l'estor perilleus vostre ami vengissois !
Hui perdrons tuit les testes, que de voir le sachois.
Sanses, se ne vous venge, coars sui et revois ! "
Le destrier esperonne contremont .i. chaumois,

25, 9. deuoir.

24, 9. H de larcon. 10. H s. i. que i faucon. 11. *dun*] H al. 12. *uostre bouche*] H bouce domme. *ni*] HV nen. 13. H rien. 15. HV N. tenres (V tendrei) en s. t. **ne cite** (V fermete).

25, 1. H La grande f. l. os. V *fu*] est. 2. HV &. H tot freiz. 4. &] H si. 5. &] H sen. *despiece*] IV & si detort. 7. V & droiz. 8. H le baron venjerois ; V le uassals uengisseiz. 9. H H. perderons l. cies. *de uoir*] H de fi. V Ou perdrón l. t. de uerte l. sacheiz. 10. *se*] H sor. H Grejois ; I & malvois ; V & reueiz. 11. H Par air e. le ceval es caumois.

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Bot the duke, that was wyse in weir,
With his speir that sharpely share,
Him baklingis throw the body bare,
And laid him deid richt suddanly;
And ioynt and clois passit him by,
And said him in his by-passing,
" I am weill certane of ane thing,
That we sall neuer of thy mouth heir
Iudgement; fra this day, but weir,
Sall Alexander say and feill
That I nor myne lufis him neuer a deill,
And Balas, that hes Tyre in fie,
That we haue wengit him on the!
Thow sall neuer of his honour
Hald castell, cittie, toun na tour!"

THE mischeif was great and cruell
Of Sampsoun, that deid doun fell.
The knychtis of Grece thair micht men sie
Be stad in grit perplexitie.
Emynedus anoyit was,
And said to hardy Perdicas,
" Alexander, the gentill King!
This day of vs beis departing!
A! sen thow war into this stour,
Throw thy helpe, worship and valour,
Thow sould vs venge richt weill, Perfay,
We man all die with dule this day.
A! Sampsoun, sweit freind, sa sone
Hes all thy douchtie dayis done!
Bot I the venge, shent mot I be!"
With that, with spurris his steid straik he,

[And

926. *passit*] past. 932. *a deill*] adeill.

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Si s'i met en la presse que tous i fu destrois,
Et fiert Salehaton qui sire ert de la lois,
Archevesques des Gadres, ausi noir conme pois,
Que desous la ventaille del hauberc ront les plois,
L'eschine li trencha a l'acier qui fu frois.
De la mort de Sanson fu illec pris li drois,
Et li Grieu s'entr'alient et plevissent lor fois
Que l'un ne faudra l'autre tant soit de mort destrois.

77 FESTÏONS sist armés sor .i. amoravi,
Ains hom ne vit meillor, persant ne arrabi ;
D'un chier paille ert couvers, onques meillor ne vi,
.iij. lyonciaus d'or fin i ot cousus en mi ;
Et li vassaux fu preus, si ot le cuer hardi.
A l'estendre des armes li destriers tressailli,
Et fiert .i. riche duc que entr'eus ot choisi.
Chil avoit en l'escu Licanor acueilli,
Et de cops si chargié que ses chevaus cheï ;
Mes cil le vengera que il tient a ami :
Tel li donne en l'escu, fraint li a et parti,
Le blanc hauberc du dos desront et dessarti,
El cors li met l'espié o tout le fer bruni
Si que dedens le pis la hanste li croissi.
Tant roidement l'enpaint qu'a terre l'abati ;
Cist est mors a dolor et maint autre autresi.

77, 11. frait. 16. *autre*] *supplied.*

25, 12. *la presse*] H lestour. H estrois. 13. H **Salehadin** ; I Saleson ; V salaazon. H est. *la*] H lor ; V lour. 14. *des*] HV de. 15. H **inverts lines** 15, 16. HV Par (V Ke) desous la mamele. H r. d. h. iii. p. 16. H & lescu de manois. 17. HIV f. de lui (I i f. lues) p. l. d. 18. HV se ralient. 19. *faudra*] IV laira.

77, 1. I armoravi. 2. H **om. line.** V Einz n. v. h. m. gascoin n. arabi. 3. H C. fu d. cier pale. 4. H ij. lions de f. or. HV i o. (H avoit) tissus (V teissu) e. m. ; I i o. il sus e. m. 5. *si*] V &. [I Il embraca **lescu** & la lance altresi.] 6. H lestraindre. H cevaus. 7. *duc*] H turc. HV q. es (V ki des) autres coisi. 8. *lescu*] H lestor. V Cil a L. e. lestor a. 9. H & ci cargie del cop. H q. li c. c. ; V ke del cheual c. 10. *le*] H len. IIV quil tenoit a a. 11. *a*] H ot. 12. H & lauberc de son d. *desront*] V rūpu. 13. *lespie*] H la lance. *le fer*] V lascer. 14. **In place of lines** 14, 15, HI **have one** : S. q. de lautre part a tiere le flati (I del ceval labati). 16. *est*] fu. HV & m. autre a. ; I qui que crie merci.

[H Il ne sen pot gaber se Sanses fu ocis
Tes le plora anqui qui ains en avoit ri.]

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And plungit in the thikkest preis,
And smot schir Saladyne, that was
Ane knycht of Gaderis, at the chyn ;
He bristand bair him butlingis in,
To all throughout the spere went syne,
And he fell doun with dule and pyne.
Thair was wengance, and that was richt,
Tane for schir Sampsoun, that was wicht.
The knychtis of Grece, that was stout,
Lappit togiddir all in ane rout,
And suore that nane suld vthir faill
For dout of dede, in that battaill.
Festione, weill arrayit at richt
In armour that was fare and bricht,
Sat on ane stalwart steid of pryse,
In gude sandell at all deuise
Couerit, and throw sutelte
Lyons of gold war set thair thre.
The scheld was styth, the knycht hardy
And in the stour sa sturdely
He smot in the stour before
Ane knycht, had caucht schir Licanore,
Chargit with strakis sa stalwartly.
He gart him deir the bargane by,
For throw the he[ve]de he him bare
And fellit him ſtane-dede richt thare.
He deit suyth, and sa did ma,
For all that euer he micht our-ta
Vpone the samyng wyse he gart ly,
For he gaif thame nane vther mercy.
Few eschewit his strakis, I hecht,
He gaif sic strakis in to that fecht.

[Caulus

961. *that*] than.
963. L. *vther*.
966, 980, 984. yat.
970. yair.
974. *had caucht*] was callit.
976. ye.
978. yare.
982. yame.

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32 ARMÉS de toutes armes et de molt riche ator,
Desus .i. vair destrier vint Caulus a l'estor,
Huimés se contendra a loi de poigneör,
L'en puet bien en .i. ost recouvrer .i. pïor,
Et ot escu a or entier d'une colour
Fors qu'el chantel devant ot d'asur .i. flor,
S'ot confanon tout blanc, qui fu a l'aumaçor,
Lance roide sus feutre porte de grant vigor,
Lait corre a ceux de la, vers qui n'ot point d'amor.
Endroit li ne sont mie li Gadrain a sejor,
N'ont pas aprés son cop de grant joie loisor.
Le prince de Corinte feri par grant iror
Qu'il li trenche l'escu sus el chantel hauçor,
Le hauberc fausse et ront, tant vint par grant vigor
El cuer li met le fer a la clere brunor,
Si que de l'autre part en vit en la luör ;
Le cors del chevalier tresperche a tel dolor
Mort l'abat sans parler du destrier coreör ;
La lance vole en pieces conme .i. rain sans verdor,
Ce ne fu mïe cop d'aprentis vavassor,
Puis met la main au branc et guencist vers les lor,
Qui il ataint a cop, cil a de mort päor ;
Autressi conme bestes s'en vont devant pastor,
Les enmena .i. poindre qu'ains n'i firent trestor.

31 LICANOR et Filote, dui frere molt vaillant,
D'une œvre, d'un corage, mes ne sont pas d'un grant.
Filotes ert .i. lons, ce trueve on en lisant,
.j. chevalier alis, nul plus bel ne demant,
Licanor ot plain vis et chiere sousrïant,
Gais fu et amorous et de joli samblant,
Plus espés et plus fort et mieudres en estant.
Armés d'une color, vindrent as rens poignant,
Armes ont de sinople fors le chantel devant,
Ot chascun .i. lïon d'or bruni reluisant,
Lance roide ot chascuns et confanon pendant.
Licanor sist el bai, Filotes el ferrant.
Hobel, n'esmerillon, ne fauconcel volant,
Ne vont mïe si tost a oisel descendant
Conme en l'estor s'enbatent li destrier remuant.
Licanor vait ferir Mustamur l'Aufriquant
Que des vaines du cuer le sanc a rais espant,

32, 1. (&) *de*] *om.* 17. *del*] de. trespercha. **31**, 3. *on*] *supplied.*
15. brunour. 18. *parler*] plet. 7. *Plus*] & plus.
17. *del*] de. 22. pavour.

'*Laisses*' 32 *and* 31, *absent in* V, *occur in* H *and* I. *The variants not indicated* 'I' *are those of* H.

32, 1. *toutes*] rices. 2. *vair*] sor. *destrier*] baucant. Caunus. 4. H *om. line.* 5. ses e. fu a o. entrais d. c. 6. *quel*] el. *dasur*] asise. 7. H *inverts lines* 7 *and* 8. 8. *de*] par. 9. H *om. line.* 11. ses cos. de mire g. l. 12. i. amiral encontre sel fiert par tel vigour.

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CAVLVS, callit Emenelis,
Sat armit on ane steid of prys.
I trow he sall contene him weill,
For in hard battale morteill
Quhair knychtis suld assaiȝet be,
Men micht find sone ane war than he.
His scheld was gold but vther colour,
And in the cantel was set ane flour.
The prince of Corynthe smot he sa
That he him to the ground gard ga,
In to ane heip, baith hors and knycht.
As scheip that for the wolf takis flicht,
He led the folk before him was.
Quhen Gaderanis saw sa hard ane pais
Be held thame, thai war all sary.
Syne to his feris he went in hy.
LICANOR and Philot alsua,
Thay wounder wourthe brethir tua,
War of ane will and ane stoutnes,
Bot nocht all of ane mekilnes.
Licanor was ane partie broun,
And wonder fetas of fassoune,
Baith wise, courtes and wicht was he.
Philot was of mare quantite,
Of ioyous and of blyth manere,
With stout visage and lauchand chere,
Richt kynd, courtes and amorous ;
And thai war baith glaid and ioyous.
All armyt in to ane colour,
Thay come baith prekand in the stour.
Lycanor smot ane knicht sa fast
That of his nek the vanis brast ;

[And

987. *contene*] content. 998. gaderanis. 1012. yai. L. *glad.*
997. ye. 999. Beheld ; yame ; yai.

13. Quel l. trence l. sor le cantiel au tour. 14. H *om. line.* 15. *cuer*] cors. *a*] o. 16. suour. 17. H *om. line.* 18. parler. ceval. 20. I joster. 21. P. a traite lespee. 22. na d. mie loisor. 23. Ausi comme les b. fuient d. p. 24. L. mena i. grant p. li gentius vavasor.

31, 1. H Filotes. *frere*] homme. 2. *œure*] I ordre. *dun*] & dun. & nerent p. d. g. 3. *ert i.*] estoit ; I est plus. H c. trovons nous l. 4. & a. c. *nul*] mais. 5. Lincanors o. cler v. *a*] &. 6. Uns dansiaus a. & joie demenant. 7. *Plus*] menre. 8. I A. tot dun sanlant. H venoient a r. brocant. 9. Lor escut sunt vermel en cantiel de d. 10. a fin or r. 11. *ot chascuns*] sor feutre. 12. H **om. line.** I Lincanors s. e. b. & F. f. 13. Ostoirs. 14. a loisiel randonant. 15. Com viennent a l. 16. Mustamar le tirant. 17. *cuer*] cors. *a rais*] vermaus.

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Mort l'abat des arçons, quel virent ne sai quant,
Qui en plorent des ieux et por lui sont dolant ;
Et Filotes refiert .i. neveu l'amirant
De Triple en Barbarie, cousin le fis Balant ;
Tex armes conme il ot ne li firent garant,
Si vilment l'abat mort conme .i. petit enfant
De ce cop s'esfraërent li Turc et li Persant,
Et cil de Babiloine en furent esmaiant.
La ou les lances fraignent sont recovré li branc,
Plus d'une arbalestée li vont si demenant
Ne truevent chevalier envers eux trestornant,
Trestuit li plus hardi vont devant eux fuiant,
Et tuit li plus seür se vont espoëntant.

44 ARISTES vint poignant par mi l'estor plenier,
Lance roide sus feutre a loi de bon guerrier ;
Li fers en fu trenchans, et l'anste de pommier,
Les langues de l'enseigne lait au vent baloier,
Le cors ot bel et gent et le visage fier.
Durement se penoit des Gadrains damagier,
Riens ne pöoit durer encontre son achier,
Et fiert .i. duc de Perse, neveu le roi Gaifier,
Que le cuir et les ais fait de l'escu percier
Et le hauberc du dos desrompre et desmaillier,
Par mi le cors li fait le confanon baignier
Si qu'outre d'autre part fait le fer essaier.
Cil conpere Pirrus, qui quel doie vengier,

31, 19. *sont*] son. **44**, 8. Gadifer.

31, 18. M. l. del ceval q. v. li auquant. 19. H **om. line.** 20. *refiert*] feri. 21. *cousin*] **Corbin.** 22. Les a. que i. porte n. l. valent i. gant. 24. D. c. c. sesmaierent l. preudome sacant. 26. H **om. line.** 27. HI les v. si reusant (I reculant). 28. retornant. 29. vet d. lui f. 30. H **om. line.**

44, 1. H A. de Valestre vet p. l. p.
[H & fu mult bien armes sor i. corant destrier
Tieste & col & crepon couvert dun pale cier.]
2. H L. ot r. s. f. 3. H Dont l. f. trance plus. &] H en. V la hanste d. p. 4. HV langes. V sen sengle. *lait*] H fait. 5. *gent*] V grant. *visage*] H corage ; V uiaire. [HV Ains ne veistes homme mius sanlast chevalier (V mieuz sache gwerroier).] 6. H **om. line** ; V *inverts lines* 6 *and* 7. I de G. empirier. 7. H Arme nauoit duree. 8. *duc*] V turc. HI & f. i. rice Turc (I roi de Bastre). H Gaifier. V nies estoit r. **galfer.** 9. H Q. pardesous le boucle li f. l. p. 10. H & lauberc de son d. 11. *le*] V sun. 12. H *om. line.* IV S. que de lautre p. I en peut on voir lacier ; V li a fet essewer. [HV Tant com anste li dure li fait siele widier (V labat mort el graver).] 13. *Pirrus*] HV **Sanson** ; I Piron. H q. que d. anoier.

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And laid him dede doun to the ground.
The knycht was callit Ingramound;
He was ane mychty cenatour,
And held grete lordschip and honour.
And Philot, with ane grete waffyne,
Smot ane stout knycht, callit Coruyne,
That he him fellit dede richt thair.
Of that straik fele affrayit ware
Sum of the Gaderanis that assailȝeit;
And quhen the bretheris speris failȝit,
Thair swordis swyftly out thai swyng.
Mare than ane bow-schot, on ane lyng,
At thair fais thai ruschit sturdely.
Na man of thame was sa hardy
That thai na gaif the brother steid,
Sa of thair handis to de thai drede.
VPONE ane steid of grete bounte,
In the stour prikit Areste,
With ane spere schairp and weill scherand,
The pensale to the wynd waiffand,
Fair corps and hie and stark he had,
With stout visage, and richt weile maid.
Men micht nocht fynd in na countre
Ane man mair ganand knycht to be.
Nane micht endure agane his dynt,
His fais chaissit than as he mynt.
He smot ane duke hecht Morgathare,
That throw the body he him bare,
Sa that nouther scheld nor blassone
Auaillit him of ane buttoune.
He duschit doune in blude all rede;
He ƀocht full deir schir Sampsonis dede,

[quha

1017,-26,-31. ye. 1028,-42. yan. 1030. yame.
1023,-32. yair. 1029,-32. yai. 1042. *chaissit*] chaisais; yan.
1027,-31. yai.

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Tel en plorront encui qui s'en rirent premier.
Lors commencent li renc sus destre a despoissier,
Cil escu a trouer, ces lances a froissier,
Cil vassal a verser, cil arçon a vuidier.
Aristes lor lait corre, qui n'a soing de tencier,
A l'espée trenchant les vorra acointier.
La vit Emenidon tant fierement aidier,
Sanc et cervel espandre et teste et bras trenchier,
Et l'un mort desus l'autre verser et trebuchier :
" Ha ! gentil dus," fait il, " tant faites a proisier !
Gent qui tel connestable a por soi enseignier
Si ne se devroit mie por petit esmaier,
Mes le droit lor seignor fierement chalengier,
Car certes au destruire ne sont mïe legier.
Li cop de vostre espée nous font tout rehetier,
Car aprés vostre main n'a nul entret mestier.
Honis soit qui en poise se li rois vous a chier,

44, 16. treuer. 17. auerser. 19. a cointier.

44, 14. H *om. line.* V ristrent. 15. H L. commence l. rens. HV sor d. (H destrier) a **espessier.** [V **La poissez ueer un estor si plener.**] 16. H Tant **e.** estroer tante lance brisier ; V Ces escuz estroer & ces l. brisier. 17. HI & tant elmes quase & tant auberc desmallier (I a percier) ; V & cil cheual aloient par le chãp estraer. 18. H Arides laise c. ; V A. let coure. *tencier*] I targier. 19. HV **Ens en la grignor prese** (V En mi la greingn presse) **est ales a.** 20. H & vait E. ; I L. vint E. H mult **f. a.** 21. H & puins & pies trancier ; V & piez & poinz t. 22. V *om. line.* H Lun m. deseure l. 23. *fait*] H dist. 24. HV ont p. eus e. (V iustiser). 25. HV N. s. devroient m. *por*] H de. 26. HV vivement. 27. *au*] V a. H Quar teus gens a d. 28. V *om. line.* 29. *apres*] H en pries ; V empres. *nul entret*] H de mire ; V nuls entres. 30. H Dehait ait q. lait est ; V Honiz seit il kil peise.

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Quha-sa thairof be wraith or blyith.
Sic leuch before sall greit all suyth.
The renkis begouth sa thik that
He feld full fair in sadill sat.
Thair men micht sie ane staluart stour,
And sheildis that war of great colour
To-frushit, and speiris brak in shunder,
Steidis ouertirf, knichtis ly vnder,
And sadillis temit of douchty men.
Areste stoutly prikkit then
In middes the thikkest of the thrang,
And with his sword about him dang.
Sa sawe he in the stour, him by,
Emynedus sa sturdely
Help him-self with waponis snell
That it war wounder for to tell,
For he sa hard his fais led
That he baith blude and harnes shed,
And with his brand, of blude all rede,
Ouertyruit the deid men vpon dede.
He said, " a ! gentill duke of pris,
Abone all knichtis to loif thow is,
That leuand is in warld this day
Is nane thy peir, suithly to say.
Men that sik ledaris hes as the
Durst not gritly abasit be
To challenge weill thair lordis richt,
For sikkerly it is not licht
To distroy thame ; but thy skirming
Geuis to vs all recomforting.
Efter thy dint na sawe may saue.
Maugre of God euer mot he haue

[That

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C'onques mieudres de vous ne pot lance baillier ! "

34 PERDICAS vit les osts de .ij. pars assembler,
S'ot buisines et cors et moïnniaus sonner,
Et voit maint confanon desploier et venter,
Et maint bon chevalier de ferir aprester,
Et soi r'encoragier et grant chose penser,
Et les auquans fremir et les plusors douter,
Car de mains se peüst .i. coars esfrëer.
Les bons voit par les rens et venir et aler,
Fo. 26. Les uns poindre des lés, les autres galoper,
Auquans ferir d'espées et les plusors joster.
Perdicas fu armés miex que ne sai conter,
Et sist sus .i. cheval qui molt fist a loër,
Lait corre a ceuls de la, que il ne puet amer,
Ens en la grignor presse fait le ceval entrer,
Et fiert .i. chevalier, tant con pot raviner,
Des .xv. fis Merel, Hobé l'oï nomer,
El regne as Arrabis n'avoit tel baceler.
Onques nel pot escus ne blanc hauberc tenser
Par mi le cors n'en faice et fer et fust passer,
Si l'abat des archons, puis ne pot relever,
N'il n'ot loisir .i. mot de la bouche parler.
Outre s'en vait poignant, sans point desconraër,
Le branc nu en sa main qui tant fait a douter ;
Cui il ataint a cop ne li puet eschaper
Qu'il ne trenche la char et traie le sanc cler,
Et s'en fait les talons envers le ciel torner
Et le coing de son elme a la terre hurter.
Plus d'une arbalestée fist son poindre durer

44, 31. bailler.
34, 14. En la presse (*the rest of the line, left blank in* P, *is supplied from H*).

44, 31. HV Quar nus m. (V Kar nul mieldre) d. v. *pot*] H **puet** ; V put. '*Laisse*' **34**, *absent in* V, *occurs in* H *and* I. *The variants not indicated* 'I' *are those of* H.

34, 1. *osts*] I Griu. P. voit l. **gens** & les Grius asambler. 2. & m. corner ; I & ot timbres s. 3. *venter*] moustrer. 5. H *transposes lines* 5 *and* 6. En s. acoragier. 6. *fremir*] I servir. 9. *des les*] a eslais. 10. Les i. f. d. & l. autres i. 11-12. *In place of lines* 11 *and* 12 H *has* : A. s. el liart q. tant f. a l. 13. Biaus fu & preus as armes plus quon ne puist esmer. 14. prese. 15. randonner. 16. *Merel*] I Martel. H & estoit fius dun r. H Aquin ; I Hobex. 18. *blanc*] li. 19. N. face fier & f. p. m. l. c. p. 20. *Si*] **Mort.** cainc nen p. r. 21. *Nil*] Si. *la*] sa. 22. s. plus a demorer. 23. que biel savoit porter. 24. n. p. vis escaper. 25. N. li tolle le teste sans plus a demorer. 26. & faisoit pies & puins encontre vent voler. 27. & les quins d. lor elmes.

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That is anoyit at the King
Hald the in great cherising,
For better na thow may spend na speir,
Na into battell wapin beir ! "
PERDICAS sawe on ather syde
The folk assemble with routis ryde,
And hard trumpettis and hornes blaw,
And mony worthy man he saw,
Reddie to smyte on sindrie wise
And vndertak full hie emprise.
He sawe the gude, with hart full thra,
Throw out the thik preis cum and ga,
Sum stryke with sword and sum with speir.
He was hardy and wicht in weir,
And prikked sa to the tuther party
That he rushit richt sturdely
In middes of the stalwart ficht,
And with sic wraith he smot ane knicht
That hecht shir Amere, and was ane
Of Melchis xij sonnes; bot thair was nane
Better of hand than was he,
Na manlyar knicht in na cuntre.
Thair micht na armour him auailȝe ;
He ran throw the corps in the entrailȝe,
He bair him baklingis with ane spere,
And dede doun to the erd can bere ;
And passit clos by, and drew his brand.
Quhom euir he hit, I tak on hand,
He chapit nocht vnhurt him fra.
He raid, or he arest wald ma,
Ane archear-schot all out and mare ;
A poynt apertly maid he thair.

[Bot

1087. *hard*] hardy.
1088. L. *sawe.*
1097. L. *In the middes.*
1104. *the corps*] ye cours.
1110. *arest*] a rest.
1112. *A poynt*] Apoynt.

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Quant son cheval li chiet, par le frain sortirer
Au travers d'un roion qu'il devoit trespasser,
De .ij. piés entravers le covint a tumber.
Li Gadrain s'esforcierent desus lui recovrer ;
Le lor acointement peüst ja conperer
Quant point Emenidus le vassal delivrer ;
Devant le sien acier covient les rens trembler,
Plus l'outra c'on ne puet une pierre geter,
Tout ainsi conme il vient, devienent le renc cler.
Tex .iiij. chevaliers lor fist desafeutrer
Li plus povres avoit .v. chastiaus a garder,
Et li pires ert preus por ses armes porter ;
Ou il voillent ou non, les a fait retorner ;
En itel connestable se doit on bien fïer.

28 CORNEX sist el cheval qu'a Chesaire ot conquis,
Des esperons le hurte, es grans galos l'a mis,
En la presse se met, de bien faire pensis,
Comme bon chevalier et des armes penis,
Et fiert .i. chevalier, neveu le duc Betis,
Que le cuir et les ais trence del escu bis ;
Mort l'abat des archons ou li or ert assis.
Molt li a bien mostré qu'il n'iert pas ses amis ;
Cil ne se pot gaber se Sanses est ocis !

29 ANTIGONUS de Grece vint par l'estor poignant,

28, 1. que.

34, 29. Q. **ses cevaus cai a sen** f. soustirer. 30. HI **a lentree** (? lentrer) dun rivot (I rivoist) u dut outre paser. 31. D. ij. p. i entra **si** l. c. tumer. 32. Cil de Gadres sesforcent d. l. al **capler**. 33. li convenist conprer. 34. Q. E. vint. 35. H *inverts lines* 35 *and* 36. D. trestous les autres a fait xxx l. r. **tranler**. 36. P. lonc quon n. poroit u. p. **ruer**. 37. H **om. line**. 38. *fait*] fist. 39. *v*] iii. 40. H **om. line**. 41. H l. **a** f. **remonter** ; I si la f. r.

28, 1. HV Corineus s. e. **bai** qua cesaire (H ca Ceseraie) o. c. 2. H e. g. eslais est m. ; V e. granz galops set m. [H D. si grant aleure com vait li Arabis.] 3. *se met*] H est ferus. 4. H *places after line* 1 *a line corresponding to this :* Si com bons chevaliers coragous & hardis. H *om. line.* V kert darmes peneis. 5. H F. i. mult rice. *le*] al. 6. *In place of line* 6 H *has :*

Si grant cop li dona en lescu dasur bis
Que li haubers del dos ne li vaut ii. tapis
Que ii. toises de lanste ne li enbate el pis.

These lines occur also in what purports to be another '*laisse*' in *-is* (*Mich., pp.* 112-113) :

i. neveu Gardiien de la serour Bietris
Vait ferir si grant cop en lescu dasur bis
Que li haubers del dos ne li vaut ii. tapis
Del anste une grant toise li met parmi le pis.

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Bot, at ane lytill burne passing,
His hors him failȝeit of leping,
And with the foirfute enterit sua
That hors and he to eird can ga.
Than thai of Gaderis in full grete hy
Schot vpone him full douchtely,
And to dede had him doungin thus,
Had nocht bene duke Emynedus,
That prekit to him in full grete hy
And dang the folk sa rigorously
That vpone him thair dingand was
That, maugre thairis, thai left the place.
He horssit him, quhethir thay wald or nocht,
And syne towart thare fais thay socht.
In sic ane ledare men micht affye,
That helpit his men sa duchtelye.
CORNEVS set him vpone ane bay,
That he gart hardely hald his way.
In the thikkest preis he prekit to,
In thocht and will richt weill to do,
As nobill knycht and wicht in were.
He smot ane king sa with ane spere,
That neuoy was to duke Betys,
That of the nobill steid of prys
He draif him dede doune to the ground.
Thare schewit wele in to that stound
That he ane hard pais can thaime leid ;
He bocht full dere schir Sampsonis dede,
That he thairfore hes tynt the sueit.
Sic leuch befoir that now sall greit !
ANTIGONVS, that wourthy was,
Plungit into the thikkest preis.

[With

1117. yai ; gaderis. 1126. yare. 1139. yaime.
1123. yair. 1131,-37,-44. ye. 1142,-43. yat.
1124. yairis ; yai.

---

7. V o. l lions e. a. H M. l. del arcon u respent li vernis. 8. H *om. line.* 9. H C. n. sen p. garder s. S. fu o. [V **Tel le plourent eincui ken orent anceis ris.**]

29, 1. *de Grece*] H li preus. H vet ; V vent.

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Lance droite sus feutre et l'escu tret avant ;
Les langues de s'enseigne vont au vent baloiant,
Bien semble chevalier hardi et conbatant,
Et fu molt bien armés sus .i. cheval ferrant,
Empereres ne rois nul meillor ne demant,
Car il i faudroit bien se il l'aloit querant ;
Et vit .i. Arrabi, qui les rens vait cerchant,
La conpaigne des Griex forment afebloiant,
Quatre lor en a mort d'un poindre maintenant.
Antigonus lait corre le destrier remuant,
Et cil broce vers lui, nel va pas redoutant.
Li Arrabis failli, qui cheval ot tirant,
Antigonus le fiert, tout plain de mautalent,
Grant cop en son escu du roit espié trenchant
Desous la boucle a or, la li pechoie et fent,
Par grant ire li ront son hauberc jaserant,
Tant con hanste li dure, l'abati mort, sanglant.
Quant la lance peçoie, ne lesse mie atant,
Met la main au costé, si en a tret le branc,
Et guencist vers les autres en la presse plus grant.
Il nel tenront hui més du ferir por enfant !

ANDROYNES sist el vair et galope sous frain,
Lance roide sus feutre et l'ennarme en sa main,
As garnemens tenir ne semble pas vilain,
Plus cointement nes tint nus fis de chastelain ;
Si s'afiche es estriers qu'en froissent li lorain,

29, 15. trechant. 18. sanglent. **30, 2.** len narme.

29, 2. H *om. line.* *tret*] I tint. 3. V langes ; H *as* P. H lensegne. 5. H *om. line.* *cheual*] V destrer. 7. *bien*] HV tos (V tost). H querant [H Antigonus de Grese qui le cors ot vaillant]. 8. *vit*] V ueit. H Muet a i. A. *les rens vait*] V v. l. r. 9. H Les compagnes roiaus ; V L. c. de grece. V esclariant. 11. H *om. line.* 12. *broce*] H nen cist. H qui ne le doute i. gant ; V nel uent de ren dotant. 13. H Ains arieste a i. fet. HV car ceval o. t. 14. H del roit espiel trencant (*cp. next line*). 15. *roit*] V bon. *trenchant*] V. H Si g. c. e. lescu a fin or reluisant. 16. V de lescu dolifant. H Que par desor lescu fent les ais dolifant. 17. *ire*] V **vertu.** H Li aubers de son dos ne li valu i. gant.

[H Ne vo fis par le cors le confanon bagnant ;
I **Par mi liu de son cors va lespiel guiant.**]

18. V labat del aufferant. H l. sovinant. 19. *In place of lines* 19 *and* 20 H *has:* Q. l. l. est brisie recouvre a le branc. 20. V M. l. mein al espe s. a t. l. bon brant. 21. H Antigonus ses fiert.

[H Cui il ataint a cop il na de mort garant
Tant i a cos ferus & deriere & devant.]

22. *du*] V al. H Que pas ne le tenront de f. p. e.

30, 1. HV Androines (V Androines) s. **armes.** 2. H *om. line.* *roide*] IV droite. *sus feutre*] V leuee. I lenarme ; V len arme. *sa*] I la. 3. V P. gentement ne vint. H A. rices g. n. sanla p. v. 4. H Onques plus biaus nen ot. *nus*] H ne. 5. HV croisent (V croissent).

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With spere in fewter and scheld embraissit,
Haubreik indoissit and weill laissit;
Him semit weill ane knycht to be,
And on ane gude steid als sat he,
That nouther king nor empriour
Mycht better haue in stalwart stour.
He saw ane hardy Arraby
Socht to the renk sa sturdely
That he the Grecians febillit fast.
Four deid to ground thair can he cast.
Antigonus to him sterit his steid,
And he him met in that, gude speid,
Bot he missit and by can gang,
For that his hors was hewit strang.
3it than Antigonus smot him sua
That he the scheld smot euin in tua,
And the gude hawbrek that was thair-vndir
Throw strenth & vertew brast in schoundir,
And throw the body he him bare,
And fellit him stane-deid richt thare;
His spere brak, bot his brand he drew
And strakis rude about him threw,
And fellit mony mudy knycht,
For he was hardy, bald and wicht.
His fais sall nocht hald him that day
For child at striking, gif he may!
ANDREANE was armit fute and hand,
And raid on brydill wallapand,
In fewter set his stalwart spere,
His scheild embraissit ioynt in his gere;
His armes he bare iolely,

[And

1145. *scheld*] helme.
1151. arraby.
1152,-61. ye.
1153. grecians. *fast*] sa fast.
1154. yair.
1159. yan.
1161. yat.
1164. yare.

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Lance droite sus feutre et l'escu tret avant ;
Les langues de s'enseigne vont au vent baloiant,
Bien semble chevalier hardi et conbatant,
Et fu molt bien armés sus .i. cheval ferrant,
Empereres ne rois nul meillor ne demant,
Car il i faudroit bien se il l'aloit querant ;
Et vit .i. Arrabi, qui les rens vait cerchant,
La conpaigne des Griex forment afebloiant,
Quatre lor en a mort d'un poindre maintenant.
Antigonus lait corre le destrier remuant,
Et cil broce vers lui, nel va pas redoutant.
Li Arrabis failli, qui cheval ot tirant,
Antigonus le fiert, tout plain de mautalent,
Grant cop en son escu du roit espié trenchant
Desous la boucle a or, la li pechoie et fent,
Par grant ire li ront son hauberc jaserant,
Tant con hanste li dure, l'abati mort, sanglant.
Quant la lance peçoie, ne lesse mie atant,
Met la main au costé, si en a tret le branc,
Et guencist vers les autres en la presse plus grant.
Il nel tenront hui més du ferir por enfant !

ANDROYNES sist el vair et galope sous frain,
Lance roide sus feutre et l'ennarme en sa main,
As garnemens tenir ne semble pas vilain,
Plus cointement nes tint nus fis de chastelain ;
Si s'afiche es estriers qu'en froissent li lorain,

29, 15. trechant. 18. sanglent. **30**, 2. len narme.

29, 2. H *om. line.* *tret*] I tint. 3. V langes ; H *as* P. H lensegne. 5. H *om. line.* *cheual*] V destrer. 7. *bien*] HV tos (V tost). H querant [H Antigonus de Grese qui le cors ot vaillant]. 8. *vit*] V ueit. H Muet a i. A. *les rens vait*] V v. l. r. 9. H Les compagnes roiaus ; V L. c. de grece. V esclariant. 11. H *om. line.* 12. *broce*] H nen cist. H qui ne le doute i. gant ; V nel uent de ren dotant. 13. H Ains arieste a i. fet. HV car ceval o. t. 14. H del roit espiel trencant (*cp. next line*). 15. *roit*] V bon. *trenchant*] V. H Si g. c. e. lescu a fin or reluisant. 16. V de lescu dolifant. H Que par desor lescu fent les ais dolifant. 17. *ire*] V **vertu.** H Li aubers de son dos ne li valu i. gant.
[H Ne vo fis par le cors le confanon bagnant ;
I **Par mi liu de son cors va lespiel guiant.**]
18. V labat del aufferant. H l. sovinant. 19. *In place of lines* 19 *and* 20 H *has:* Q. l. l. est brisie recouvre a le branc. 20. V M. l. mein al espe s. a t. l. bon brant. 21. H Antigonus ses fiert.
[H Cui il ataint a cop il na de mort garant
Tant i a cos ferus & deriere & devant.]
22. *du*] V al. H Que pas ne le tenront de f. p. e.

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Il broce le destrier qu'il ot delivre et sain.
.j. Arrabi felon encontra premerain,
Cil tint tout le paijs environ flun Jordain,
Calafer ot a non et fu fis Galoain,
L'amirant Bedoïn de terre Madïain ;
La gent de sa contrée menguë petit pain,
Lait boivent de chamuel et au soir et au main.
Par deseure .i. jupel ot vestu .i. clavain,
Sa lance ne fu mie de sap ne de fust sain,
Ains est cane molt fort, norrïe en son terrain,
Et glüée o le nerf de chevruel ou de dain.
Des homes Alixand' ot mort .i. chastelain,
Fo. 25v. Et .i. riche baron c'on apeloit Gallain ;
Mes ja sera vengiés d'un sien cousin germain,
Car Androyne le fiert ens el pis tout de plain,
Le clavain li rompi, qu'iert du tens Elenain,
Et le cuer li trencha a l'achier corrochain,
Tant con hanste li dure, l'abat mort el terrain,
Le cors en lait sanglent et sans l'ame, tout vain,

33 LÏONES vint as rens sus .i. destrier norois,
Et fu molt bien couvert d'un vert paile grejois,
Brodé tout environ a grans bendes d'orfrois,
Por ce que molt l'ama, li ot donné li rois ;
Et tint a .iiij. clous d'or cuit arrabïois,
S'ot ou fer de sa lance .i. confanon tout frois,
Assés biaus de faichon et de color indois,
Molt richement ouvré d'un paile antïoquois ;
Une manche ridée si blanche conme nois
Ot li bers en son bras, a guise de Franchois ;
Li vassaux fu molt preus et li chevaus tous frois,
En l'escu de son col fiert Maudras le cortois,
Qui sire ert de Facons et .i. cuens de Herblois,
Escu ne li valut la montance d'un pois,
Ne li haubers du dos la monte d'un balois,
Par mi le cors li mist le fer sarragoçois,
Mort l'abat des archons, ains ne li fist sordois.
Ne fist pas lonc sejor, outre vait de manois,
Le branc nu en sa main d'un acier coloignois,
Ains ne tira son frain, s'en ot abatu trois
Qui mes ne li metront riche terre en deffois.

PAR le camp esporonne li povres desarmés ;

30, 9. anon. 20. de plain. **33**, 1. Lyons. 14. lamontance.

30, 6. H & a point le ceval [H & il li vait plus tos que cers ne cace dain]. 7. H i. amiral encontre devant lui en i. plain. 8. H *om. line.* *Cil*] I Il. V Ki t. l. p. quite desci ken f. I. 9. H Galafres. *a non*] HV. H Godevain ; I Germain ; V godoain. 10. H i. felon Beduin. H Micovain ; I Matoain. 11. HV manjuent. H peu de p. 12. V al s. & al matin. 13. H *om. line.* *i*] V le. 14. HV fusain (V fusein). 15. H Mais une c. roide. IV n. e. sosterain (V soterein). 16. H Bien loie de cuir ; V Englu e dez ners. [H Li fiers en trance plus que faus qui soie fain (V Li fers ert plus trenchanz

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And strenʒeit in his sterapis stythly.
Prikkand he smot ane Araby,
That he met first, sa sturdely
That deid doune to the erd him bare.
Men callit that knycht schir Calafare,
And wounder mychty in all thing,
Richt prudent in his gouerning;
Vpone ʒond halfe of flom Iordane,
Of land he held ane mekill pane.
This knycht before slew ane Romane,
Philotis neir cousing germane;
Bot he was quyt thare trewly,
For Andreane deid doune gart him ly.
INTO the renk prekit Lyoun,
All helit in ane sandale broun,
With orpharis all couerit about,
King Alexander the sterne and stout
Had geuin him, withowtin were,
With pinsale on the samyn manere.
He in the scheld smot Aradas,
That of Pharone the cheif lord was,
That haubrek, scheld nor ʒit ventale,
Agane the dynt mycht nocht avale,
That he to erd deid doun him draue;
Syne, with straucht arm, straik on the laif
Sa fast at he had fellit thre
Or euer his renʒe arrest wald he.

How ʒoung Pirrus lord of Montflour Reskeuit his men and wan honour

THE pure man that vnarmit was
Raid prekand stoutly throw the preis.

[He

1177. araby. 1185. romane. 1196. pharone.
1180, 1203. yat. 1187. yare. 1201. *at*] as.
1183. *flom*] plom. 1192,-94. ye. (Rubrick) montflour.

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que fauz q̄ sie fein).] 17. HV ot ocis i. **Romain.** 18. HV & i. conte abatu tot envers ens el (V en un) plain. 19. *ia*] H il. HV de son c. g. 20. H Androne s; V androines. *ens el pis*] H en lescu. *de plain*] HV. 21. V *om. line.* H De si rice vertu que tranca l. c. 22. H L. c. l. a cope; V & li t. l. quor. H soverain; V corocain. 23. H l. m. ens e. plain. 24. *en*] H li. H & de larme t. v.

38. *The 'laisse' is absent in* V. 1. Liones fu armes sour i. ceval norois. 2. Il f. trestous armes. *dun*] sor. *vert*] I **brun.** 3. Bendes t. e. de b. a orfrois. 4. P. cou cauques l. 5. H *om. line.* 6. Sor le f. d. s. l. ot c. turcois. 7. D. mult bele facon. 8. H *inverts lines* 8 *and* 9. Ouvree r. d. drap antigonois. 9. plus blance que nest n. 10. *bras*] branc; I brac. H Francois. 11. H *om. line.* 12. I Maldors i. turcois. 13. Vesques e. d. **Faros.** H & sires d. lor lois; I & visquens d. Rebois. 14. Li escus de son col n. l. v. i. p. 15. H Cune toise del anste o le pignon dorfrois. 16. H Li met p. m. l. pis cui soit tors ne qui drois. 17. *In place of line* 17 H *has two:*

M. l. d. a. a fin or Espagnois Outre sen est passes nus n. l. f. s.

18. H *om. lines* 18 *and* 19. 19. I B. ot il e. s. m. d. a. **verdunois.** 20. *Ains*] H Il. H sot a tous t. 21. H le pais e d.

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Niés fu Emenidus et de sa seror nés ;
Et fu parmi le cors d'une lance navrés ;
Bien garra de sa plaie, car li fiers n'est pasés
Et non porquant s'est il de son flanc bien bendés.
A i. baron de Gadres fu en l'estour joustés
Qui estoit fors des rens et des autres sevrés ;
Ne ne vit chevalier qui tant fust adoubés :
Ses elmes fu a pieres et a ciercles dorés,
Li cevaus u il sist fu ferrans pumelés.
Li vasaus vit les armes, s'en fu entalentés ;
Le ceval esporone, s'en est vers lui alés,
Sa lance li peçoie jouste l'un des costés,
Et lui et le ceval porta en mi les prés ;
L'escine li est frainte et li cos desnoés ;
Plus de xxxv. fois s'est ilueques pasmés.
Li vasaus saut a tiere, qui bien fu apensés,
Del escu et del hiaume est il tos adoubés,
Prist armes et espées, el ceval est montés.
Le ceval esporone, mult par fu biaus armés,
Le branc nu en sa main, s'a ses piés regardés,
Li cuers li est el pis bien demi pié levés ;
Et vit Emenidus, ki tant fu agrevés,
Tant estoit conbatus, tous ot les bras lasés ;
Ceüs fu desous lui le cevaus sejornés.
Plus de v. chevaliers ot sor lui arestés
Qui sovent le requerent o les brans acerés.
Li vasaus crie " Archade ! " cele part est alés,

This ' *laisse*,' *corresponding to lines* 1203-82 *of the Scots text and absent in MS.* P, *we supply from MS.* I, *as printed in Michelant, p.* 148 *l.* 1—*p.* 149 *l.* 30.
6. des. 21. mult par fu biaus armés (? *repeated from prec. line*).
14. *Et*] *om.* 27. Que.
18. *Printed* Des escu et de l'hiaume. 28. et garde.

N.B.—*The text is that of* H. *The variants are those of* V.
2. **d. li tint deux citeez.** 3. **Li escu de son col f. en set lux troez.** 4. *pases*] pas les. 5. & nepourquant si ert i. dune feisse bendez. 6. A un b. de gazres sert e. l. medlee. 7. Ki ert **a une part** fors d. a. seurez. 8. Einz n. v. c. plus beus f. des armez. 9. *a*] li. 10. V *om. line.* 11. *vasaus*] uadlet. 12. cele part est tornez. 13. **La.** desour un d. c. 14. & l. & l. cheual abati e. uns prez. 16. V *om. line.* 17. uadlet. qi ert proz & senez. 18. Del cheual & des armes sest m'lt tost adobez. 19. P. lescu as enarmes e. destrer e. m. 20. qui bien fu conreiez. 21. **Tint** l. b. e. s. m. **si ad ces pez regardez.** 22. *pis*] **cors.** plein palme levez. 23. ki ml't estoit greuez. 24. T. **se fu cõbatu.** enflez. 25. li ferrant pomelez. 26. *v*] **set.** 27. **Ki s. l. ferroient.** 28. *&ª garde*] **archage.** sest c. p. a.

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He was neuoy to Emenydounis,
And held of him baith towris and tounis.
His scheild to-fruschit was halely,
And he woundit in the body,
Bot the wound was litill, suthlie,
And he had bundin it straitlie.
Wpon ane syde of the feild he saw
Ane knycht of Gaderis without fallow,
Armyt in to full riche armour.
His armis quhitar war than flour,
His scheild was bordouret richely
With gold and asure halely,
His hors was fare; he saw neuer knycht
That him thocht sa gaily dicht.
On syde sa stoutly he him straik
That all suddanly the hede can tak
Baith of the knycht and of the steid,
And his necbane in sounder ȝeid,
And his chyn brak dispitusly.
The child than lychtit doun in hy,
And dicht him in his armour swith,
And syne lap on his steid sa styth.
His swerd nakit in hand he bare,
Beheld his leggis, how thay ware
Arrayit in melȝe of fyne hew,
His hart within his body grew;
He saw his eme at erd, him by,
And his gude steid vpon him ly,
For he was fallin in ane turnyng.
Seuyne knychtis he saw vpon him dyng,
That grete rowtis vnto him raucht.
The child cryit "Archade!" with all his maucht

[And

1209-11-20-21. ye. 1212. gaderis. 1214-24. yan.

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Si fiert l'un de l'espée ki li pendoit au lés
Que le puig li copa, a la tiere est alés.
En le prese se fiert quant il fu abrievés,
Plus de c. cos i a de s'espée dounés ;
U il voelent u non, les a si reüsés
Que par force les a de la place gietés.
Li cevaus se redrece et li quens est levés,
Le vasal apiela : " Biaus amis, ça venés !
Com avés non ? ki estes ki tel mestier m'avés ? "
" Sire," fait li vasaus," jamais nen ert celés.
Corineus ai a non, ensi sui apielés.
Ma mere fu d'Arcade et tous mes parentés.
En la prison roi Daire fui xiiii. ans gardés,
Asés i fui petis, por mon pere portés.
Mult aurai hui esté de mes armes gabés ;
Merci Notre Signor, or en ai a plentés !
Niés sui Emenidus et de sa serour nés,
Or vois querre mon oncle par estranges regnés."
" Dex," dist Emenidus, " tu soies äourés !
Biaus niés, je suis vos oncles ! saciés c'est verités !
Or soiés mes amis, et jou votre privés !
En la court Alixandre serés par moi amés."
An ii. ses bras li a par mi le col gietés,
Plus de xx. fois le baise, sor lui est aclinés.

41. passés. 43. estes.

29. Sin f. un d. l. dont li brant fu letrez. 30. *puig*] **bras.** si qua tere e. versecz. 31. si cũ uent abruiez. 32. *i*] **lor.** del espee. 33. l. a tels conreiez. 36. uadlet. 38. S. dist li uallet ia mi nõs nert celez. 39. *a*] *om.* 40. darchage. 41. *gardés*] passés. 43. este. *de*] pour. 44. o. e. hauoms asez. 46. querrant. 47. *dist*] fet. *tu*] hui. 48. que uous tant desirez [& vo' estez mi nez bien sai quest ueritez]. 49. serrez. 50. s. des plus a. 51. li quons al c. ietez. 52. *xx*] cent. *est*] sest.

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And towart him raid in full great hy,
And smot the first sa sturdely
That he smote euin the arme in tua,
And ane other to the erd can ga;
And rushit, with that, vpone the laif,
And mony deidly dynt thame gaif;
Sa of the seuin slew he fyue.
With that, the duke vpstart belyue—
The tother tua hes left that steid—
And he drest him into his weid,
And said, "quhat art thow, freind, that me
Hes in this thrang done this bounte?"
"Schir," said the childe, "I hecht Pyrrus,
And neuoy is to Emynedus.
In Daurus presoun haue I bene
Weill xiiij. ȝeir, forouttin wene.
For, quhan I was ane lytill page,
For my fader I went in hostage;
Now (louit be God!) eschaipit am I.
I haue bene scornit this day greatly
For armour; louit mot God be,
For now I haue aneuch plentie!
My fader is of Archade, suithly,
Emynedus sister sone am I,
Now seik I him in seir countre."
The duke said, "louit mot God be!
I am thy eme, fair, deir cousine;
Thow art my deir sib-man and I thine.
In Alexanderis court throw me
Thow sall menskit and honourit be."
With that, he can him fast imbrais,
And kissit him, armit as he was.

[A dere

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" Niés," dist Emenidus, " pres de moi vos tenés ! "
" Sire," dist li vasaus, " ains sera conparés,
Li brans de ceste espée tains et ensanglentés,
Que jou parte de vus se ne sui mors gietés ! "

PAR le champ vait poignant li niés Emenidon,
Pirrus, cil de Monflor, a la gente faichon,
Qui cors ot et corage et chere de baron.
Molt se vait desreänt sus .i. cheval gascon,
De meillor se puet bien consirer .i. preudon,
Et si fu en tous sens de bone afaitoison.
S'il connut mauvés home, ains n'ama son sermon,
Ne ne volt retenir les vers de sa chançon.
Molt honora les bons, ses tint en sa maison.
La donna son avoir ou sauf furent li don,
Tant que la sieue enseigne estoit de grant renon,
Et tuit si anemi en ont male friçon,
Sa proësce les mist en male soupeçon.
Diex, qu'il ne pot durer ! trop se mist a bandon,
Tout jors voloit par armes esmovoir tel tençon
Dont chevalier gisoient par terre et par sablon.
Si droit ne voloit mie ne quarrel ne bouion
Conme il aloit ferir d'estoc le confanon
Ceux qui vers Alixand' n'orent subjection.
Por ce l'amoit li rois et si franc conpaignon ;
Ses oncles en faisoit molt sovent oroison
Que Diex le deffendist de mort et de prison.
Onques n'oï de lui vilaine retrachon,

35, 3. *chere*] cheualerie. 14. abandon.

[Deus ce dist li uadlet cũ sui ben eurez
Mult est mis quors en ioie bels sire or en penses
Ke io soie par vos & par moi honorez.]

53. **[Li estors est mot fiers tost serrũ deseurez.]** 54. einz est ch' copez. 55. & l. b. d. mespee tors & e. 56. **si a mort ne sui naurez.**

'*Laisses*' **35-39**, *absent in* V, *occur in* H *and* I. *The variants not indicated* 'I' *are those of* H.

35, 1. *le champ*] lestor. 2. Cest Pireus d. M. a le clere facon. 3. Q. cuer a & c. & ciere d. b. 4. Ademetant s. v. 5. H *om. line.* 6. & est de t. endrois. 7. S. coneust couart ja noist s. s. 9. Mult ounora vasal par vrete le dison. 10. u f. haut l. d. 11. *estoit*] en fu. 12. *ont*] mult. 13. *les*] le. 14. H *om. line.* 15. mostrer t. contencon. 17. I S. doit ne voelent mie. HI maturas (I materas) n. b. 18. Com cil les vet f. destort l. c. 19. mouvoient le tencon. 20. Quar mult lama l. r. & tout si c. 22. detornast. 23. H *om. line.*

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" A ! dere God," sais Pyrrus, " quhat I
Am of this meting richt happy !
My hart is full of Iolite.
Now think I, sweit eme, to be
Honourit, throw 3ow, with great and small,
And for my awin deidis with all."
Emynedus sayis, " my neuoy deir,
Se that thow hald the by me heir !
This is the perrillous battale
That euer I saw in my trauell,
And thow, my sone, be set fra me."
" Schir," said the child, " or it sa be,
My sword sall be of blude all rede,
And I woundit neir to the deid."

PYRRVS, that lord is of Mountflour,
Richt douchty and of great valour,
He was weill taucht in deid and saw ;
Quhair he ane wickit man couth knaw,
He luiffit him nocht, na wald him heir,
His laittis na his lessons leir.
His ensigne was of great renoun,
And sair dred with his fais felloun.
His worship set thame in affray,
Bot he went all to sone away,
For he wald euer, at hard melle,
At stryking with the formaist be.
He straucht his steid, that stithly ran,
And in the preis he plungit than,
And deidlyke dintis about him gaue.
His eme prayit God sould him saue

[Fra

1283. mountflour. 1292. *Bot*] For.
Lines 1299 *and* 1300 *are transposed in Arbuthnet's print.*

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Des sieues grans bontés les manieres diron :
Ses pies furent votis, et pendant li talon,
Large ot l'enfourcheüre et le cors par raison,
Grailles flans et votis et les rains gros selon,
Et large pis et gros, de bele formoison,
Les mains et grans et fors et les bras a foison,
Et le col lonc et droit et quarré le menton,
La bouche bien seänt, et les dens environ
Plus blans que nus yvoires ne nul os de poisson,
Et le nés avenant, sans nulle mesprison,
Les ieux vairs et apers a guise de faucon,
Et biaux les ot et clers plus que la fille Oton,
Qui par biauté fu dame du roiaume Esclavon,
Les cheveus lons et crespes, n'i avoit se bien non.
Atant li venoit barbe et poignoient grenon,
Qui lui avenoit molt, que miex en sembloit hon ;
Itele en est la somme de la descriptïon,
Car, envers lui, sont let li plus bel c'or savon.
Hé ! Diex ! con biau li sistrent li doré esperon,
Et les chauces de fer et l'auberc fremeillon,
Et li hiaumes a pierres, qui cler reluit en son !
Ses escus ert a or, s'i ot .i. vermeillon,
Ce est vis, qui l'esgarde, que nes soit en blason ;
Et la lance fu blance, o vermeil confanon,
Rades en ert li fus, d'un fresne de planton,
Et .iiij. fois recuit o gliu et o savon ;
Li fers ert plus trenchans que faux enfen oison.
Qui tel le vuet atendre, de la mort le semon,
Bien est drois qu'au partir se tiengne por bricon,
Car puis n'aura loisir de requerre pardon.

36 Il valles sist armés sus .i. destrier isnel
Qu'il ne donast le jor por l'amor d'arondel.
Les armes le couvrirent, qui molt li sistrent bel,
Fo. 26v. Lance porte sus feutre et l'escu en chantel.
Le destrier esperone qu'il li perce la pel,
Et cil porprent la terre, qui plat ot le musel ;
En l'escu de son col vait ferir Gastinel
Que le vernis li trenche, l'alun et l'arguël,
Et l'escu et les ais, par mi le taint novel,
Du hauberc ront les mailles, et fausent li clavel,
Tout le fer de sa lance sentirent li boiel,
Par mi outre l'eschine en passe le coutel,
Et lui et son cheval abat en .i. mustel.
Le cors du chevalier trebuce en .i. doitel,
La morut en noiant qu'ains n'issi du ruissel.

37 Il valles tret sa lance que du retrere brise ;
Ne fu mie esperdus, que mautalens l'atise ;
Met la main a l'espée, qui fu forgie en Pise,
Li sain en erent d'or o letre bien assise,
La color ne fu mie trop blance ne trop bise,
Mes brune verdoiant ; qui d'autre se devise,
S'ele fu bone assés, bien estut a sa guise,
Et cil l'a a porter qui en son cuer se prise ;

35, 29. &] *supplied.* 46. les garde. **37**, 8. aporter.

35, 24. De sa tres grant proecce verite en d. [Quar tout aves oi **de son cors la facon**]. 25. Li. 26. Sot l. forceure. 27. H *om. line.* 28. **Larges p. & espaules** sot large formison. 29. L. b. gros & quarres l. puins gros a f.

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Fra dede, myschif and fra presone.
I will record 3ow his fassoun,
Of all schaip was he richt wele maid,
With armys large and schoulderis braid,
Fare schankis, leggis and feit
Weil maid, all to his body meit.
His berd to spring of new began;
Him semyt weill to be ane man.
Certis to say of his bounte,
Thare micht nane farar fundin be.
A! dere God, how his helm of steill
And his hawbrek sat him! how weill!
His spere was schairp and weill scherand.
Quha met with him, I tak on hand
Thay haue of him sic ane men3eing
Thai sall neid, I wis, of leching!
PIRRVS sat on ane nobill steid,
And he richt douchty was in deid;
He lukit fast to his armyng,
And thairof had he grete plesing.
His steid he straucht, and straik ane knycht,
Schir Gastinall to name he hecht.
Throw baith scheild and habirgeoun
He plat his spere in his pensoun,
And duschit him dede doun in that place,
Sa sone that he said neuer "allace!"
Pirrus his stalwart spere hes tynt,
Bot swith in hand his sword he hynt,
That forgit was and formyt weill
Of ane broun, vnbrekand steill.
The sword was gude and of grete pryse,
And it had lord at all deuyse.
At this poynt thinkis he, gif he may,

[Sum

1308. L. *farer.* 1316. indeid.
1313. *men3eing*] menyng. 1320. *Gastinall*] Gastmall.
Minuscule at l. 1310.

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30. L. c. l. & poli & forme l. m. 31. Biele bouce riant. 32. Ot p. b. que yvores. *nul*] que. 33. N. seant & bien fait. 34. L. ious ot v. el cief. 35. & si l. o. rians. 36. *roiaume*] lignage. 37. H *om. line.* 38. Adonques l. poignoit la b. & li g. 39. Mult l. a. bien car mult e. sanloit h. 40. & teus est en l. fin d. sa discrecion. 41. *cor*] I que. H Que vers l. estoit lais li cors le fort Sanson. 42. *sistrent*] sient. *li*] si. 43. H *om. line.* 44. *li*] si. q. reluist environ. 45. S. e. fu tos dor. H ni ot pas v.; I sa en mi un lion. 46. H *om. line.* 47. L. roide sor feutre & v. c. 48. & fu de cuir loie entour & environ. 49. Par iiii. f. saudees (*? for* saudies). H glu; I cire. 50. L. f. en trance p. q. li faus en saison. 52. H *om. lines* 52-53.

36, 1. fu. ceval. 2. H *places line* 2 *immediately before line* 7. Cel i n. le dounast p. tout lor dun castiel. 3. Ses a. li avienent & mult l. sient b. 4. *porte*] roide. 5. ceval. si q. l. fent l. a. 6. [HI Le piet cauf & coupe (I reont) plus tot vait darondel.] 8. *In place of lines* 8-9 H *has one:* Quil li perce & porfent p. m. l. t. n. I Quil trance l. v. & lasur fait n. 9. *nouel*] I rouel. 10. & lauberc li fausa quen rompent l. c. 11. *sa*] la. 12. Si que p. m. le cors passerent li coutiel. 13. *son*] le. porta e. i. monciel. 14. *In place of lines* 14-15 H *has:* Larme sen est alee le cors lait a reviel.

37, 1. *tret*] prist. q. a tiere li b. 3. *Met la main*] Le main m. Frise. 4. L. poins e. estoit d. *o*] a. 6. M. b. & verdoians del pumiel s. d. 7. signes ot a d.

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A ce poindre fera des Gadrains grant justise ;
Cui il ataint a cop, ne quiere autre joïse !
Je ne di pas d'un home qu'il faice grant jostise,
Mes tex .xx. en i lait, n'i a celui ne gise,
Qui bien ont au Grejois droite treve promise.

38 PIRRUS est en l'estor ; si cop i sont parant,
Car nul de son eäge n'ot corage si grant
Ne, por armes baillier, nul cuer ausi vaillant ;
De meillor ne plus bel ne vous sont ne ne chant,
Car se il le disoit, il n'en auroit garant
Qu'ains tel de son eäge portast lance ne branc.
Diex ! conme il vait les rens a l'espée cerchant,
Le fier orguel de Gadres fierement reversant !
Emenidus l'esgarde, le cuer en ot joiant,
Licanor en apele, si li dit en rïant :
" Veés de mon neveu conme il vait abatant,
Le grant orgueil de Gadres entor lui abessant !
Qui vuet bon chevalier, ja meillor ne demant.
Se cestui puet avoir, plus loing nel voist querant ! "
Lors s'afiche li oncles et tret l'escu avant,
Rade lance en son poing o .i. fer avenant,
Et ot a .iiij. cloux de fin or arrabiant,
Sus le fer atachié .i. confanon pendant.
Au destraindre des armes fait tresaillir Ferrant,
Et il li vait molt bien la terre porprenant,
Les chaillaux et les pierres sous ses pies esgrunant.
Par ire vait ferir .i. molt riche amirant ;
Cil ot a non Cadot, et fu fis Rodoänt,
De la sereur Betis, a l'amoreus semblant,
Gente dame bien faite, o le cors avenant ;
Et de cestui trovons, en l'estoire lisant,
Qu'il n'ot tel chevalier, Arrabi ne Persant,
En la terre de Gadres puis le tens Moÿsant,
Ne si large de cuer ne francement donant,
Emenidus le fiert de la lance trenchant
Que par mi le blason ront l'auberc jaserant,
Si li perce le cuer, la boiele en espant,
Mort l'abat des archons par mi .i. desrubant ;
Et Pirrus lor escrie : " Cha vous venés traiant !
Cist vous garra du mal dont vous estes tremblant !
Ce ne sont mïe cop d'aprentis païsant,
Mes du meillor du monde, fors le roi conquerant !

37, 12. nia. **38**, 10. apela.

N.B.—*Lines* 22-33 *of the French are not rendered in the Scots.*

37, 9. H *om. lines* 9 *and* 10. 11. *iostise*] ocise. 12. M. t. x e. trespase ni a c. n. g. 13. & cil o. as G. d. treves demise.

38, 1. fu. s. c. sunt aparant. 2. Ainc hom d. s. lignage nen ot cuer si vallant. 3. N. de porter ses a. corage si poissant. 4. n. conte

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Sum of his vertew to assay.
With that, he socht furth in the thrang,
And sic dyntis about him dang
That he passit by sik thretty
That nane was na he gart him ly.
Pyrrus thus steirit him in this stour;
Thair was he haldin of great valour;
That tyme was nane of his ȝouthheid
Of sa grit worship and manheid,
And farar was nane sikkerly.
A! deir God, how he was douchty!
He gyrd throw renk with sword in hand,
Thame of Gaderis fast febiland,
And comfortand sa grittumly
The folk that war of his party.
EMYNEDVS him saw and vox blyth,
And said to Licanor all suyth,
"Se my neuoy, how he stonayis
ȝon Gaderanes that he assayis!
Quha ȝarnis ane knicht of great bounte,
Sall he find nane better than he."
With that, the gude Emynedon
Embraisit sadly his blason.
His suord was drawin in his hand,
Agane his dynt had nocht warrand.
And Pyrrus cryit, "now gais heir ga!
He that heir cumis, I vnderta,
With ane sweit medicyne sall now
Mak quyte of that that greuis ȝow.
His straikis ar nocht of ane prentis,
Bot of the best that leuand is
In warld, saiffand the King allane.

[He

1335. *passit*] past.

nus n. cant. 7. *cerchant*] trancant. 8. L. grant o. d. G. desous lui confondant. 9. E. le vit sen o. l. c. i. 10. Lincanor e. apele se l. vet consillant. 11. com se v. contenant. 12. H *om. line.* 14. Sil encontrer le viut p. ne le v. quercant. 15. I safeutre. H L. s. es estriers & l. mist a. 16. *In place of lines* 16-18 H *has one:* L. roide sor feutre & confanon pendant. 19. A lestraindre d. jambes. 20. & i. l. v. menu les grans saus porprendant. 21. degietant. 22. De Barbais v. f. 23. Galafres o. a n. I Roboant. 25. Bele d. & plaisans. 26. *lestoire*] estore. 28. *la terre*] lempire. *puis*] tres. 29. Fors tout seul Gadifier celui met jou auant. 31. *For lines* 31-32 H *has:*

Si tres grant cop li done que ne li fait garant
Ne escus ne haubers le montance dun gant
Ne vet par mi le cors son confanon bagnant.

33. M. l. sans parler dales i. d. 34. Cest traies a g. 35. Cil vus gari de mort d. v. ales tranlant. 36. Cor. 37. H *om. lines* 37-39.

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Fis sui de sa sereur, drois est que je m'en vant,
Car de par lui me vient honor a mon vivant !
Ains la nuit vous donra d'un tel boivre en ferant
Qu'ains ne burent a Gadres de nul plus enyvrant ! "

39 BIEN volt Emenidus son poindre parfornir,
De celui tret sa lance qu'el champ a fait gesir,
Si s'afiche es estriers le fer en fait croissir,
Et li chevaus li cort de si trés grant aïr,
Il et Pirrus ses niés les vont si envaïr,
Et tuit li autre Grieu qui ne volront foïr,
Que par mi les harnois les font outre ferir
Et por päour de mort ledement resortir,
Quant virent Gadifer d'unes brueilles issir
Õ .iij. mil chevaliers, que il ot a baillir :
Cil sot bien que li Grieu ne vorroient fuïr ;
Ains se vendront molt chier ains qu'il voillent morir ;
Por ce, se fist armer belement a loisir,
C'or les vorra, s'il puet, derompre en son venir ;
Ses conpaignons a fait de bataille garnir.
El mi lieu veïssiés maint confanon broïr
Et oïssiés busines et lor tamburs bondir,
Et grans cors d'olifans souner et retentir.
Li Grieu tirent lor frains quant les virent venir,
Et traient au destrois por lor vïes garir
Ne lor tint de gaber ne de riens escharnir,

38, 38. *je*] *supplied.* 41. en yurant. **39**, 10. abaillir. 13. aloisir.

38, 40. Ancui vus monsterra d. t. boire poisant. 41. d. n. **si** agrevant.
39, 2. H *om. line.* I D. c. trait le l. cot f. e. camp cair. 3. que l. f. fet c. [& si fait au ceval les esporons sentir]. 4. & l. cevaus l. cort par isi g. a. [Que il fait des caillaus le fu cler resplendir]. 5. Pireus [Ne truevent chevalier qui lor cos puist soufrir]. 6. *Griu*] per. q. n. voelent falir. 7. P. m. eus tous ensamble l. v. entre f. 8. H *om. line.* 9. Q. voient G. hors del bruellet i. 10. quil o. fait establir. 11. Il. n. volrent pas f. 12. H & le proie enmenront u tout quident morir ; I Mais els vendre mult cier a. que viegne al m. *In* H *the remainder of the* 'laisse' *is quite different :*

Et Gadifers a dit des or poes veir
Les millors chevaliers por lor vies garir
Qui onques fust en tiere ne mes doie nasquir
Ja nen veres i. seul pour cou acouardir
Mais ales maintenant tant ruste cop ferir
Por cou voel isci tant fierement bondir
Que jou les puise ronpre trestous en mon venir
Lors veiscies Gadrain lor cevaus poursalir
Tant rice garniment contre solel luisir
Et ces elmes luisans et espiers resplendir
Ces moieniaus souner et ces tertres tentir
Resouner les vallees si con le puet oir

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He sall ȝit, or this day be gane,
Brew ȝow sik drink, I tak on hand,
That ȝe drank nane sa poysonand ! "
EMYNEDVS his cours maid weill,
That fele of Gaderis may feill
His sword schare in thair nakit hyde.
Pyrrus was ay neir him besyde.
Thir tua, with all thair cumpany,
Socht on thair fais sa sturdely,
Quhill to thair baneris thay thame dang,
Thair had thay thirlit weill the thrang,
Quhan that gude Gaudifere de Larys,
With tua thousand knichtis of prys,
Saw ische out of ane craig, thame by.
He wist and knew aluterly
That thay of Grece wald wele thame weir ;
Thairfoir, with tyme and at laseir,
He dicht him in his apparell,
And ordaned him for battell.
His men he gart als weill array,
For at his micht he wald assay
To skaill them sua in his cuming
That thair sould be na recouering.
In his battellis than micht be sene
Baneris and pennomis shynand shene ;
Trumpettis and taburnes gaylie blaw.
Quhan that the folk of Grece thame saw,
In hy all fleing reillit thay,
And to ane strenth hes tane the way,
To saue thair lyues quhil thay mocht.
Is nane of thame, I trow, had thocht
Of gamin or play or ȝit solace,

[For

1373. yame. *Minuscule at l.* 1365.
1375. larys.

La plus fiere os del mont sen peust esbahir
Ausi com li ostoirs vet le mallart saisir
Lors descendent Gadrain qui les vont envair
& li Griu tienent coi ques voellent requellir
Lors veiscies cescun de bien faire aatir
Quar tous li plus couars na talent de fuir.

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Car de plus grant meschief ne porroit nus oïr
N'i a celui qui mort n'atende, sans languir.

40 Fo. 27. GADIFER des Larris ou croissent li paumier,
Qui la terre d'entour ot toute a justicier,
En toute l'ost de Gadres n'ot si bon chevalier
Ne .i. qui par son cors feist tant a proisier,
Ne nul ne se sot miex en .i. estour aidier
Ne les siens maintenir ne autres damagier,
Et les tornés de place si de prés enchaucier
Qu'il n'avoient loisir de nului enpoirier.
Belement sot fuïr quant il en ot mestier,
Et, s'il en vit son lieu, faire .i. biau recovrier.
Les sieues bones teches font bien a renoncier,
Biaus est et avenans, et tint son cors molt cier,
Et larges et cortois, n'i ot que enseignier.
Ou que il vit le bien, molt le volt avancier,
Et vilaines paroles et lais dis abessier,
Et toutes bones gens lever et essaucier,
Les orgueilleus abatre et les felons blessier.
Quant vit les osts fremir et l'estor conmencier,

40, 7. tornois. 8. en poirier.

40, 1. *des*] H del ; V de. H crurent. 2. *ot toute*] H avoit ; V a t. 3. H E. lenpire d. G. n. si bon c. ; V El realme de egipte n. meillor c. 4. *i*] H nul ; V hõme. H s. peust t. p. 5. HV N. si bien se seust. H rehaitier. 6. HV &. H delivrer. *ne*] HV &. 7. *tornes*] H ; V L. tornez d. la p. *si de pres*] H d. s. p. 8. V nourent. H enpirier ; V empeirer. 9. H mult savoit bel f. 10. H & se lui plot a li (*printed* l'i.) ; V & **quant** il uit s. l. *i*] H *om.* 11. *renoncier*] H acointier. V sũt b. arepcher. 12. *est*] HV fu. H & mult fist a prisier [H Simples estoit & dous & bons a acointier]. 13. H Douneor i ot large & mult bon vivendier [H & vers son anemi ot le corage fier]. 14. U q. i voit les bons. HV ses vot (V sil uout) mult a. (H essaucier ; *cp. next line*). 15. H *om. line.* 16. HV T. les b. g. 17. *blessier*] H plaisier ; V pleiser [H Ne il ne vot a tort franc home forjugier]. 18. *osts*] HV rens. H & le noise engrangier.

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For the mischeif sa mekill was.
THIS gude Gaudefeir de Laris,
That was of sa hie souerane pris
That, in all the land of Afrike,
Of worship was thair nane him lyke,
Na nane sa grit of hie valour,
For to mentene ane staluart stour
Na haldis his fais in sic danger,
Na helpis his freindis that had mister,
Na, quhan his fais left the place,
Sa strenthily couth demane ane chace.
He could fle fairly, but affray,
Quhan neid him strenȝeit to hald his way;
And quhan that he his point culd sie,
Recouer couth he weill his bountie,
And mak mony ane fair turning.
His teching and his fair hauing,
His vertew and his countenance,
Wald to ane gude man mak plesance.
His worship will I rehers heir:
He was vpon full great maneir
Cumly of corps and assemble;
His body weill adornit he;
Richt large, weill luiffit and courtais,
The gude auansit he alwayis,
And fellon deid and word all way
He preissit to scaill and put away.
With ane thousand knichtis of pris,
To help his lord, duke Betis,
He come from Gadderis in ane lyng;
The rergard was in his leding.
Quhan he the rinkis saw shudder sua

[And

1396. samekill.
1397. laris.
1404. yat.
1412. *teching*] tething.

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Et la noise lever, et les cris enforchier,
Et les dolereus plains des navrés enforcier
Car la mort ques destraint les fait asouploijer,
Il sist a ce besoing sus le meillor destrier
Que li rois de Nubie li peüst envoier,
Qui des meillors du mont a trestout le dangier,
Par les costés le point des esperons d'or mier.
Ne volt pas por joster granment les rens cerchier,
Mes, en la greignor presse ou il vit l'encombrier,
Fait le chief du cheval et l'escu adrecier.
Le conte Sabilot ala Tyr chalengier
De par Daire de Perse, son seignor droiturier,
Sel feri de la lance en l'escu de quartier
Que par mi le blason fist l'auberc desmaillier
Et le cors du vassal d'outre en outre percier.
Tant roidement l'estut a terre trebuchier
Qu'il li fist tous les membres et le cors esmïer
Et le col et les bras et les cuisses brisier.
La sieue mort fera maint home coroucier
Et meïsme Alixand' des biaus ieux lermoier ;
A piece n'en peüst par lui seul redrecier,
Des autres, lor a fait tex .iij. deschevauchier
Dont li pires ert preus por ses armes baillier,
Qui ne vaudront més riens por grant fais enbracier.

41 PIRRUS vit Gadifer qui se melle as Grejois,
Mort lor a Sabilot, .i. preu Macedonois,
Et des autres avec deschevauche tex trois
Dont li pires peüst, tout par droit, estre rois.
Cui il ataint a cop, tost li tolt le jenglois,
Car il a cest afaire entrepris sans gabois.
Et Pirrus lesse corre le baiart gasconnois ;
Ne s'i tenist chevrel quant il ist de desfois.
J. neveu Gadifer, qui ert venus tous frois,
Molt richement armés sus .i. cheval norois,
Vait ferir a bandon en l'escu sapinois,
Perce li conme fueille de trumel en marois,

40, 8. en poirier. 29. al a tyr. **41**, 6. a faire.

40, 19. H & l. **os cevaucier** ; V & l. c. engroisser. 20. *enforcier*] H abaisier ; V rachoiser. 21. H les faisoit acoisier ; V l. fet ml't abesser. 22. *ce besoing*] H icel jor ; V cel estor. 24. H Quar sour tous caus d. m. en avoit l. d. ; V Ki d. m. d. siecle auoit tot l. d. 25. H *om. line.* 26. *volt*] H vait ; V vient. HV le cief (V cler) des r. c. 27. *vit*] H voit ; V la o. **v.** l. 28. H F. lescu & l. c. au ceval a. 29. H Salemon ; IV Sabilor. *ala*] HV. 31. *la*] HV sa. *en*] H sor. 33. H par mi o. plaier ; V d. e. o. passer. 35. V esmiier. H Q. l. fait tout l. c. & **la** teste esmiier. 36. H L. quises & l. b. doutre en outre b. ; V & leschine & l. b.

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And the battellis togiddir ga,
And hard the grete noyis and the cry
Of woundit men sa soroufully,
He sat vpon the nobillest steid
That ony lord mycht haif at neid,
With spurris he straik him sturdely,
And he lansit deliuerly
Into the thikkest of the preis,
Quhar he saw maist of melle was.
He plungit in the feild before
And smot the gude erll Sabolore,
That he all peirssit his blassoun,
And thirllit als his habirgeoun,
And bet him dede doun in the grene,
And smot him throw the body clene ;
And efter sone sic vther thre
Throw his worschip to erd laid he
That the worst was of grete valour
For to manteme ane stalwart stour.
PIRRVS hes sene how Gaudifere
Sa stoutly can his fais dere,
How he erll Sabalour hes slane,
And vthir als of mekill mane,
That the worst was richt douchty
And praissit of hie chewalry.
With spurris tit straik he the steid,
And he come lansand wale gude speid.
Gaudifere had thare ane cousine,
Armit in armouris gude and fyne ;
Pirrus him smot with all his maucht,
And sa rude ane rout hes him raucht
That scheld and habirgeoun of steill

[At

1429,-37,-41,-42,-45,-53. ye.
1438. sabolore.
1440. hakirgeon.
1444. *worschip*] wirschop.
1446. L. *manteine.*
1447. gaudifere.
1454. *Lines* 1454-55 *are inverted in Arbuthnet.*
1455. yare ; consine.

& la quisse b. **37.** HV *om. lines* 37 *and* 38. **39.** H En. V Vne p. ne poit il soul p. li r. **40.** H & puis a f. d. a. ; V & d. a. fist pus. **41.** H *om. line.* V Dount l. p. e. ml't proz. **42.** HV Jamais ne seront preu (V ualdrunt gweres) por lor signour aidier.

41, 1. HV voit. 2. H Salemon ; V Sabilor. 3. *auec*] HV lor a. 4. H p. son cors e. r. ; V p. d. e. bien r. 5. H *om. line.* 6. V *places this line before line* 2. H & mult a c. afaire ; V Ki a ml't c. a. 7. & P. esporone. H baet ; V baiet. V esspanois. 8. H *om. line.* I q. sen i. des forois. 9. *ert venus*] H v. e. ; V est v. 10. H Arme tout ricement sor i. baucant n. 11. *en*] HV sor. H Paviois ; IV sabinois. 12. HV *om. line.*

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L'auberc fausse et desront o l'acier vïenois,
Par mi le cors li met le confanon turquois,
Mort l'abat des archons a fin or espanois.
Cist ne sembloit as armes Provencel ne Baclois,
Ains sembloit bien qu'il fust ou amiraus ou rois.
Emenidus s'en rit et dit .i. mot cortois :
" Cist vous a tost apris des jeus alïenois !
A meillor chevalier ne josterois des mois ! "

42 DU conte Sabilot qui ert mort a dolor,
Sont li Grejois dolant et demainent grant plor,
Que desous les ventailles se pasment li plusor ;
Assés i ot de ceuls qui tremblent de päour
Quant de tant riches armes regardent la brunor
Et du soleil qui done as armes grant luör.
Lors sont en esmaiance de maintenir l'estor,
L'angoisse et le destroit i sueffrent li meillor.
Et Gadifer ot ire, onques nul n'ot greignor,
Por son gentil neveu qui fu fils d'aumaçor ;
Broche des esperons le destrier missoudor,
Le branc nu en la main qui a brune color,
Et fiert si .i. Grejois par mi son elme a flor
Qu'il li trenche en parfont de la teste plaindor
Jusques al os du col lait couler le rasor.

42, 4. tremblerent.

41, 13. H Par desous est fauses li haubers demanois ; I Le hauberc f. & ront qui fu sarragocois ; V Ke parmi le blazon ront le hauberc demanois. 14. HV El c. l. m. (H mist) le lance (V fust) & lensegne a orfrois. 15. H M. l. sans parler. H d. a. Espagnois ; V a la terre manois. 16. V Cil ne resemblet mie. HV Basclois (V bascleis). 17. HV A. quidast que il f. i. naturaus francois ; V Einz quidissez kil fust bon naturel englois. 18. H E. darcade. 19. HV de son ju (IV de ses giex) alenois. 20. H jostastes ; V iosta il.

42, 1. H Salemon ; V sabilor. H fu. 2. V S. iree l. G. *grant*] H lor ; V **tel**. 3. H Par. V entrassent d. pour. 4. V *om. line*. H q. pasment d. p. 5. *riches*] H cieres. HV esgardent l. b. (H luor ; *cp. next line*). 6. *du*] I le ; V li. I claror. H Li solaus luist a. a. qui lor d. l. 7. *sont en*] H promet. HIV soustenir. 8. HI destraice. V La coite & le meschef. H quil soufrirent le jor. 9. *nul*] V mes. H & Gadifiers sot i. que o. not grignor. 10. [H **Quil voit mort devant lui jesir sor la vredor.**] 11. HV **Espris de lui vengier** b. l. m. 12. H sa. H brun de bon coulor ; V dur de b. c. 13. H & vait ferir **Pirrus** le signor de Monflor. 14. H Que l. trance p. H plaindour ; V plein dor. 15. H De si quel gros del pis fait c. le savour ; V Desci ken los del c. fist coler l. rasour.

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At that point valȝeit neuer a deill,
Bot he him throw the body bare,
And feld him stane-deid richt thair ;
And he all clois passit far by.
Emynedus than said thame in hy,
" Lansand, he leris thame of his play ;
I trow that ȝow, this mony ane day,
Iustit nocht with ane better knycht,
Na with sa hardy, na with sa wicht ! "
OF the erll Sabolouris dede
The Grecians war sa will of rede
That sum of thame sa sair can grete
That thare auantallis worthit weit,
And sum for propir radnes quoik ;
Sic basing in thare hartis thai tuik,
Quhen thai saw [sa] feill bricht armyng
Agane the sone shirly schyning,
And saw thair fais grete stoutnes.
Bot thare price and thare worthynes
Gart thame endure trauale and pane
To put thair fais strength agane.
And Gaudifere for dule and ire
Brint within as ony fyre
For his gentil neuois dede,
That he saw slane ly in that steid.
In grete will vengeance for to tak,
Ane schot on Pirrus can he mak,
With swerd into his hand all bare,
That heuy was and scharply schare ;
And hit him on the helm of steill,
And all to-claif it ilka deill,
And all the hede richt to the chyn ;

[He

1463. *passit*] past.
1464. yan.
1466. yat ; yow ; yis.
1470. grecians.
1472,-74,-78 (*bis*). yare.
1475. yai ; *feill*] fall.
1476. ye.
1477,-80. yair.
1479. yame.
1483. L. *Neuois.*
1484. yat.
1486. pirrus.

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Cil cheï maintenant qui perdi la color,
De lui n'auront secours li Grejois a nul jor.
Por quant n'ert mïe fis de povre vavassor,
Ains ert en Alenie sire de mainte tour,
A justicier en ot la richesce et l'onnour.
Pirrus avoit a non, s'estoit nés de Monflor,
Niés ert Emenidon et fis de sa seror.
Ains ne fu tel vallet, ce dïent li autor,
De neveu por neveu prist eschange le jor.
Mes s'Emenidus a de lui vengier loisor,
Il li rendra merite conme de tel labor
Ja sauront li Gadrain a ce premerain tor
S'entre lui et l'enfant avoit nis point d'amor !

43

Fo. 27v.

EMENIDUS d'Arcage vit son neveu morir
De qui avancement estoit en grant desir
De mostrer sa proësce et de lui avancir,
Car nul de son eäge ne fist plus a chierir
Ne monter sus cheval ne fort lance brandir.
Miex l'amoit en estor por chaple maintenir
Que tout le miex vaillant que l'en peüst choisir,
Et il avoit grant los, por ce fait maint soupir,
Car molt est ententis a son seignor servir,
Et tous ert ses corages a faire son plaisir.
Molt resembloit son oncle de proësce et d'aïr,
De cors et de corage ert ses niés, sans faillir,
Car enchois se lessast tous les menbres tolir,
Ou rechevoir tel mort que ne fust por honnir,
Qu'il volsist ledement d'un afaire partir.
Hé ! Diex ! qui le veïst .i. estor resbaudir
Et en destroit besoign trestorner et guencir,
Du meillor chevalier li peüst souvenir,

42, 18. nert il mie fis.

42, 16. H *om. line.* IV si p. l. (I se) vigour. 18. HV nest mie. 19. I Alemaigne. H flour. 20. *en ot*] H avoit. 21. H **om. line.** V P. ert apelez & si ert d. M. 22. HV & n. Emenidus. 23. *vallet*] H neveus ; V uassal. V content. 25. H S. darcade en puet avoir l. ; V Si eumenidus pot d. li aueir lessor. 26. HV I. avera (V en avera) m. ; I Il li rendra merci. 28. HV a. bien grant (V ne) amour.

43, 2. H erent e. q. d. ; IV ert e. mult (V mult e.) g. d. 3. I D. monter en p. HV & d. sen cors tehir (V their). 4. HV *om. lines* 4 *and* 5. 6. HV M. lamast (V lamot) entor lui (V soi) as durs estors (V a dur e.) soufrir. 7. *len*] H il. 8. HV *om. line. los*] I droit. I je vous di sans mentir. 9. HV & cil ert e. a s. **oncle** s. 10. HV *om. line.* 11. HV M. **le** r. bien. H & de cors & d. 12. *ert ses nies*] V s. n. e. *faillir*] H mentir. 13. V Mes. 14. H *om. line. que*] V Ki. 16. V en lestor. HV esbaudir. 17. H & lestroit b. retorner & g.

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He fell doun deid, na lyfe was in.
The folk of Grece, that worthy ware,
Sall helpit be of him na mare,
For Gaudifere maid change that day
Of neuoy and neuoy, per my fay,
Bot, and Emynedus the wicht
May sie his poynt, forsuth, I hicht,
He thinkis that he sall him quyte,
As for sic seruice, sic merite ;
And thay of Gaderis sall wit, perfay,
As I trow, at his first assay,
Sall baldly on thare bodeis feill
That he luffit his neuoy weill !
EMYNEDVS saw his neuoy de,
That he thocht to advance sa hie,
For vpon his auancement
He thocht to set all his intent.
His wourschip thocht him gude to se ;
Leuer him in ane stour had he,
Be far, than ony that was on lyfe,
For he was to him richt tentyfe ;
To serue his eme, all at his will,
He set all his intent thairtill.
He was lyke him in all gudness ;
Of will and strenth, forsuith, he was
His cousing, and of grete bounte,
For he wald tyne the lyfe or he
Wald fra the fecht part felly.
Quha-sa had sene him sturdely
Stonay in that stalwart stour
His fais throw his grete valour,
Vpone the best knycht he mycht mene

[That

1495. yat.
1497, 1518,-23. ye.
1511. yan ; yat.
1516. *he*] L. *it*.
1517. consing.
1519. *felly*] fully.

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Fors seulement le Roy qui l'estor fait fremir
Et son oncle, vers qui je ne l'os aätir,
Dont on doit més bons vers en bone cort oïr.
Or est mort ; c'est grant duel de tel home perir !
Emenidus le pleure, ne se puet atenir,
Si grant duel en demaine ja n'en cuide garir.
C'est avis qui l'esgarde qu'il en doie fenir,
Car l'ire quel destraint le fait taindre et noircir.
Aprés sa grant dolor s'est pris a esjoïr,
Qu'il vit de toutes pars ses conpaignons gaudir,
Desconfis et desrous por la force guerpir ;
Si s'afiche es estriers, les fers en fait croissir
Et Ferrant desous lui fierement tressaillir.
Ja seront li Gadrain trop tart au repentir
De lui et son neveu par armes departir ;
A l'espée trenchant les vait si envaïr
Ne consieut chevalier qui ses cops puist soffrir,
Tant se sache enbuissier ne de l'escu couvrir,
Qu'il n'en faice le sanc de molt parfont issir,
Ou la teste voler, ou le cervel boulir.
Ne puënt autrement envers lui escremir
Ne més parendurer et par ses cox soffrir.

EMENIDUS d'Arcage vit la gent honnorée
Por l'amor lor seignor a mort abandonnée ;
Por nul meschief qu'ele ait ne se tient esfraée,
Ne vers la gent de Gadres ne doute la mellée.

43, 20. a atir. 26. norcir. 33. *&ˢ son*] & de son. 36. en buissier. **45**, 2. amort.

43, 19. *le Roy*] V celui. *lestor fait*] H les rens f. ; V f. l. 20. *vers*] V envers. *qui*] I lui. H n. le pot aatir ; I qui n. lose aatir. 21. H **om. line.** V Hui m. deuez b. v. de riches cols o. 22. V O. e. il ml't g. d. 23. *se*] HV sen. H pot astenir. 24. H *om. line.* 25. H Cou est vis q. l. H que il d. f. ; V kil le uoie f. 26. *quel*] H quil ; V kil. V deffreint. *noircir*] H ; V nercir. 27. V En pres. *sa*] HV **le** (V la). H se prist. V esbaudir. 28. HV Q. v. (H voit) s. c. d. t. p. g. (H bondir). 29. V Deroz & d. HV tout (V pour) lafaire g. 30. HV que le fier fet (V kil fet l. f.) croisir. 31. HV *om. line.* 32. V *om. line. au*] H a. 33. H *om. line. &ˢ son*] I. V D. la mort s. d. 34. H A l. dacier. 36. V enbrüchier. H T. s. puist en lestor **enbuscier** n. c. 37. H Que. *neu*] HV ne. 38. H u en son sanc couvrir. 39. *a. e. l.*] V e. l. a. H N. se sot a. maintenir. 40. H Fors que de lescu vert & de s. c. ferir ; V N. m. ke eschuire & de s. c. foir.

45, 1. *la*] I sa. H Quant voit E. de l. g. h. 2. *lamor*] H lounor ; IV amor. HV Alixandre. *a*] HV de. 3. V Ki p. m. kel uoie. I n. sen fuit e. H Ne p. m. quil ont ne doutent la mellee (*cp. next line*). 4. H n. doutent il riens nee.

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That at the sege of Tyre was sene,
Out-tane the King allanerly
And his gude eme, quhome to that I
Dar compare nane in na degre;
Now is he deid, that is pitie!
Emynedus him menit sua,
And grat, and maid sa mekill wa,
That all that euer stude him by
Wenit he sould die thair suddanly.
EFTER the mekill dule and wa,
Comfort begouth he for to ta,
Quhan he sawe that his menȝe was
Scaillit, and bounit to leif the place;
Than in stirroppis sturdelly
He streinȝeit him, and in grit hy
He rushit in amang his fais,
And sa great payment to thame mais
That nane micht thole his sword of steill,
Thocht he inbushit him neuer sa weill
Vnder his sheild, and hid him sua
That he na the grittest bleid wald ma
Full depe for to ishe full sone,
Or ellis thair harnes for to crone;
Thay could nocht helpe thame quhair he raid,
Bot thole, or ellis roume him maid.
Emynedus saw his menȝe
Richt worthily, throw thair great bounte,
For the hie, douchty Kingis saik
Put thame in euentur for to tak;
Thay did sa that na mischeif,
Na pane, trauell, perell, nor greif,
Micht stoneis thair hartis, na affray.

[And

1530. samekill. 1552. forto.

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Li bers les reconforte au trenchant de l'espée
Qu'encontre son achier n'a nule arme durée ;
A .i. poindre qu'il fist l'a si ensanglentée
Que tous li mains hardis a molt fiere pensée,
Et Ferrant li cort miex tout une randonnée
Qu'esprevier famílleus ne vole a recelée.
.J. duc lor a trenchié trés par mi l'eschinée
Si que l'une moitié est de l'autre sevrée.
La mesnïe Betis en est si esfraée
Qu'arieres est sortie plus d'une arbalestée.
Quant l'espée li faut, qui en trois est volée,
Par mi l'enheudeüre, ou de viés est quassée,
Li bers fu molt aidant, sa lance a recouvrée.
Ains qu'il s'en parte d'euls ert en cler sanc güée,
Et la mort de Pirrus chierement conperée,
Et au plus orgueilleus asprement demandée.
Du seneschal le duc a sa gent delivrée
Qu'il avoit a .i. poindre molt durement grevée ;
Il tenoit Daïmade, une cité loée ;
Dés le tens Abraham fu desus mer fondée ;
Sieue ert la paumerie et toute la contrée
Toute jusqu'au Larris ot la terre aquitée.
Emenidus le fiert en la targe listée,
Sous la boucle d'argent est fendue et quassée,
Et la broigne doubliere et rompue et faussée.
.V. piés li mist el cors de la lance planée
Si que de l'autre part a l'enseigne mostrée ;
Tant con dura li fus, et plus une tesée,
Le porte en mi le champ de la sele feutrée.
La mesnïe Betis se fu lors asemblée,
Seure li sont coru et font une hüée ;

45, 6. Quen contre. 15. vole. 16. len heudeure. 17. *a*] *supplied.* **26.** Tout.

45, 5. *bers*] HV dus. 6. HV Quar contre s. a. *arme*] V **rien.** 7. HV *om. lines* 7 *and* 8. 10. HV Q. ne faucons. 11. *duc*] H Turc. 13. V *places lines* 13-14 *after line* 16. HV se fu dont (V est ia si) **reusee.** 14. H S. estoit arriere ; V Quarere estoit s. 15. H *om. lines* 15 *and* 16. V Mes. V ki est entre en v. 16. *len*] V le. V o. ele estoit q. 17. *bers*] HV dus. *a*] H ; V out. 18. V e. e. chaut s. gacee. H A. que p. del camp sera ensanglentee. 19. *Pirrus*] HV Sanson. **20.** HV fierement. H acatee. 21. H Dun. 22. H cil xx *.i. poindre*] V **deus pointes.** [V *repeats here line* 11.] 23. *Il*] H & ; V Cil. H Amistie ; I Damiete ; V Damiote. HV fermee. 24. H Del tans S. Abreham. 25. H *om. line.* V ki tante est renomee. 26. H Tout dusque al (V Tote tres kal) lairis. *terre*] H mer. 27. *en*] H sor. V bendee. 28. V Sor. H Que par desour l. b. HV li a frainte & q. (H troee). **29.** H & l. b. del dos. H deroute & depanee ; V derūpue & f. 30. V met. 31. H *om. line.* 32. HV T. c. hanste l. dure. 33. H lenporte. *feutree*] HV doree. 34. HV s. f. (H sestoit) dont rasemblee. 35. *li*] HV lor. *huee*] H tesee (*cp. line* 32).

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And stoutly he thame comfort ay
Richt with the scharpest of the brand;
Agane his dint had nocht warand,
And Ferrand richt sturdely him bare.
Ane riche duke that he met richt thare
He keruit with his sword in tua,
Quhill the tane half to erd can ga
And in the sadill left the laif;
And, with the grete dynt that he gaif,
The sword brak in the hiltis in tua,
Bot Betys folk, I vnderta,
Thai war ruschit, with that, on bak.
Quhen he saw that his suord sa brak,
Fra ane of thame he reft ane spere,
(He was richt help-lyke into were)
I trow in blude wyte sone sall be.
He thinkis, throw his grete bounte,
That the proudest of thame sall by
Pyrrus dede, that was wourthy.
The dukis stewart met he thair,
That at tua pointis, ane lytill are,
Had greuit gretly his menȝe;
He held great landis in to fee.
Emynedus in the scheild him straik
Quhill all in schunders he couth it schaik;
Throw scheild, hawbrek and all his gere
He preissit sa rudely with his spere
That fyue fute of the spere and mare
He butlingis throw his body bare,
And doun dede thair-with duschit he.
The duke Betys and his menȝe
Ar ruschit on thame with ane schout.

[Thocht

1559. ferrand.
1560. yare.
1562,-63. ye.
1564. yat.
1571. L. *trowe; in*] ane.
1577. *Had*] He.
1580. *it*] L. *him*.
1587. *Ar*] And.

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Se la gent Alixand' ne l'a bien escoutée,
Au grant meschief qui est ne doit estre blasmée.
Lors ont estal guerpi et place remüée
Jusqu'a une plessie, qu'ont devant eus trovée.
Ja fust la gent roial toute desbaretée,
Ne fust Emenidus a la chiere membrée,
Qui derriere se mist o la lance acerée
Et a tant le grant fais et la presse endurée
Que trestoute la chasce a par force arrestée.
Mes l'enseigne Alixand' n'a il mie oubliée,
" Macedoine ! " a .iij. fois hautement escriée ;
L'enseigne que il crie en la silve ramée,
Que li Grejois avoient d'une part escoutée,
Lor a tel hardement et proësce donnée
Tuit recovrerent ensamble, et font la retornée.

48 LA ou li Grieu recuevrent, fu li chaples molt grans,
Et selonc le meschief li afaires pesans,
Mes li home Alixand' fierent grans cox des brans,
Bien sevent que ne sont pas per ne tant ne quant,
N'il ne se fïent mie en lor chevaus corans,
Car .i. ne s'en fuiroit por .i. mui de besans ;
Il cuideroit bien estre plus vils que recreäns.
Lor seürtés est toute en lor espils trenchans,
Molt se vendoient bien as Mors et as Persans.
Ja cil de Salenie ne tendront por enfans.
Emenidus d'Arcage emporte tost Ferrans,
Ains ne fu beste nule, en cest siecle vivans,
Qui se tenist a lui quant il est ravinans,
Ne més que Bucifal, qui fais est par samblans ;
De celui ne cuit mie que il fust plus poissans.
Cil n'iert tendres en bouche, ne mïe trop tirans,

45, 50. en samble. 48, 15. poissains.

45, 36. *escoutee*] HV encontree. 37. H A. g. m. quil ont ; V Al g. efforz kil urent. 39. I Dusqua ; V Tresqua. H Dales u. forest la sest toute arestee. 40. H J. f. el premier poindre la batalle finee. 42. H Q. d. eus est mis. *o*] H a. 43. *presse*] H prise. 44. *la*] I lor. H Si q. p. une fois a lor cace a. 45. HV ni fu (V ad) pas o. 46. H Ancois a M. par .ii. f. e. 47. H L. quil escrie. H selve. IV broille (V broile). 48. HV acostee. 49. H Lors. *tel*] V grant. *proesce*] H tel force ; IV seurte. 50. H ensanle ; V ensemble. HV ni (V &) ot resne tiree.

48, 2. H la bataille p. 3. *Mes*] H &. H feroient bien d. b. 4. HV B. voient quil n. s. HV p. p. n. a tans (V atant) quans ; I parel n. t. n. q. 5. H *om. line.* V Il. 6. HV Ne. V deus n. fuirent. 7. H Quil cuidascent b. e. *que*] H &. 8. V *om. line.* H Mais il donent grans cos des espees t. 9. H *om. lines* 9 *and* 10 ; IV Mais m. s. vendent b. (V cher). I li chevalier vaillant. [I Car cascuns abati Turc Paien u Persant.] 10. V Il nes t. hui mes de ferir p. e. 11. V *om. line* 11 *and the remainder of the* 'laisse.' *In place of lines* 11-13 H *has :*

Emenidus darcade li preus & li vallans
Les sostient & conforte & si lor est garans

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Thocht thay of Grece war styth and stout,
Thair fais on thame the feild hes tane,
As, sickerly, ferly was nane ;
The myscheif thair sa mekill was
That thame behuffit to leif the plais,
And sped thame to ane strenth in hy.
Thare had thai bene alluterly
Vincust, na war Emynedon,
That stoutly can him habandon,
With spere in hand, to all his fais ;
And thame behynd sic melle mais,
And gaif sic dintis withoutin leis,
At the formest chace can seis.
THAN " Massidone ! " he cryit thrys.
Grecians that war gretly to prys,
Quhen thay the Kingis sen3e hard cry,
Sic hardement thai hint in hy
That thai ilkane turnit agane,
Semblit in ane sop as men of mane.
Quhen thai of Grece recouerit the place,
The fecht richt fell and noious was,
And, efter, the myscheif was heuy,
And richt cruell to athir party.
Bot King Alexanderis men3e,
Varneist all of grete bounte,
Thocht thai war few, thai bare thame weil,
Strikand grete strakis with swordis of steill.
For thay wald leuer, or thai wald fle,
Put thame in euenture for to de.
Thairfoir thair lyffis sauld thai deir,
For thai wist weill foroutin weir
That the maist of thair comfort lay

[To

1589, 1619. ye.
1590. sikcerly.
1591. samekill.
1594. L. *all uterly.*
1604,-07,-15,-17,-18. yai.
1605. Thatyai ; L. *ilk ane.*
1613. yai (*bis*) ; yame.
1616. yame.
1617. yair.
1618. for outin.
Minuscule at l. 1604.

Lor est murs & desfens & lor recouvremans
Com se tient de sa proie li gentius faus volans
Plus est penis des autres hardis & conbatans
& cremus en batalle & sor tous endurans
Quant il voit i. des Grius saisi entres pasans
Lors cort a se rescouse com pere a ses enfans
Il trestorne & guencist car plus tos va ferrans
Que quarriaus en enblee envoies par serjans
Quar not si bon ceval es Grius ne es Gadrains.

14. H Fors q. seul B. q. sor teus (? ceus) e. courans. 15. H Volentier & penier & isniaus & soufrans. 16. H Il ot roide la b. ne si fu pas t. ; I Cis est t. e. b. se nest m. t.

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Mes isneaus et delivres et en presse enbatans
Qu'il ne redoute noise ne cri de païsans,
Ne huy de Sarrasin, ne tambors bondissans,
Ne cors, ne moïneaus, ne resons d'olifans,
Ne escus de colors, ne conſanons pendans,
Ne haubers, ne espées, ne hiaumes reluisans;
Miex s'ameroit en presse que colons faus volans.
Si li chevaus fu bons, li sires fu vaillans,
Iriéement chevauche contre-val .i. pendans,
D'orgueil et de fierté sous son elme enclinans,
Du damage as Grejois corrouchous et pensans;
A ce poindre qu'il fist, ot abateïs grans,
Si en fu Alixand' baus et liés et joians,
Et Betis por ses homes douteus et esmaians.

49 GRIEU se vendent molt chier, qui ne truevent moraie
Envers la pute gent qui de prés les essaie.
Une eschiele de Turs lor sort lés une haie,
Plus furent de .iij. mil, n'i a celui ne traie;
Des homes Alixand' n'i a gaires sans plaie,
Mes de vengier son cors nus d'euls ne s'i delaie.
Li soleus s'esbrandist qui en lor armes raie,
Lors prendent tel fierté tous li cuers lor esgaie,
La baniere Alixand' contre le vent balaie,
Tel hardement lor donne que nus ne s'en esmaie,
Ains dïent qu'as espées quaront acorde et paie.

50 LA mesnïe le roi fu molt afebloïe,
De l'estor maintenir maumise et empirie,
N'en i a gueres nul n'ait la broigne percie,
Par desous la chemise la blance char trenchie,
Descoulorée et pale et du sanc esvuidie,
Quant l'eschiele des Turs, qui se fu desbussie,
Lor traient plus espés que yvers noif negie.
Duel ot Emenidus, qui ele fu chargie,
Quant la vit a ce poindre si fort estoutoïe.
Il embrace l'escu, s'a sa lance enpoignie,
Et Licanors li preus r'a la sieue aloignie,
Et Filotes li grans a l'espée sachie,
Chascuns des conpaignons a la targe enbracie,

48, 25. Iriement. **49**, 9. baloie. **50**, 10. en poignie.

48, 17. H *om. line.* *enbatans*] I battans.
[H Partout est a mesure ne petis ne trop grans
Com cil qui tous passoit les fors & les baucans
Quar onques not si bon ne rois ne amirans.]
In H *the rest of the* 'laisse' (*paraphrasing the opening lines of* 49 *in* P) *is:*
Griu se vendoient cier envers les mescreans
Quant lor saut une esciele devers les desrubans
Plus furent de vii. m. as vers elmes luisans
Lor oisies grant noise de Turs Arabicans
Cors darain buisines tous en tentist li cans.

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To stryke great straikis at hard assay.
VITH that, ane battell of Nuby,
Seuin thousand in ane cumpany,
That shot with arrowis barblit bare,
Of syde come shutand on thame thair.
Thair shot was great and greauit thame sare,
Sa that full few vnwoundit ware;
And quhan Emynedus the wicht
Saw how [his] fers into the ficht
War skalit with thair shot of far,
He thocht for to assailȝe nar.
Than "Massidone!" he cryit in hy.
Thairwith his feiris haistelly
Assemblit in ane sop him till;
To venge thame than thay had gude will.
The sone-shyne cleir on armouris bricht,
Quhill all the land lemit on licht,
And Alexanderis baner braid
Quhairin his awin figure was maid,
And his ensigne that thay hard cry,
Sa comfort all that cumpany
That thay thocht vengeange for to taik,
And na perrell nor pane forsaik.
THE Kingis folk, as I said air,
Febillit with shot richt felly wair.
Foroutin wound I trow was nane;
The blude that fra thame ran gude wane
Euill hewit and pale in hy thame maid,
For the Turkis with arrowis braid
Schott thikker weill than hale or snaw;
And quhan Emynedus that saw,
With all thame of his cumpany
[He

1621. nuby. 1649. L. *haill.*
Lines 1627-33 *are not paralleled in the French text.*

49, 1. HV Li G. s. v. c. V kar. *ne*] I ni. H criement. HV manaie. 2. *pres*] V mort. H asaie; V assaie. 3. V V. eschele l. sourt par de souz u. h. 4. *iij.*] HV **vij**. V na c. ki n. t. 6. *nus deuls*] H nes i.; V un d. 7. H L. s. reluist **cler**; V L. s. sesbaudist. *en*] V sor. [H Es escus a fin or & es hiaumes iraie.] 8. V *om. line.* H De la clarte des armes. H esmaie (*cp. line* 10). 9. V *inverts lines* 9 *and* 10. *balaie*] V; H baulaie. 10. H q. n. daus ne sesmaie; V toz lor quors lor esgaie (*cp. line* 8). 11. V Or. *quas*] H as. H feront; V querront.

50. *In* V *the* 'laisse' *ends in* -ee. 2. H maintenant. 3. *nul*] H i. H **ki la car nait plaie**; V neit leschine p. 4. H *om. line. la chemise*] V le halberc. 5. H car de s. ert widie. 6. HV Q. (V Kar) l. de Gadres. H q. estoit enbuscie. 7. H Lor sali p. e. H q. la plueue ne cie; V quen may pluuie deugee. [H A maint de nos Grijois fisent soufrir hascie.] 8. H quant voit sa gent cacie. 9. V Q. a c. p. fu. H Sor ne se puet vengier ne se prise une aillie. 10. HV Sa s. l. baisie (V abescee). 11. H & l. p. L. H a lespee sacie; V a l. s. esloignee. 12. HV *om. line.* 13. *la targe*] HV le suie (V sue). H empugnie.

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Et lessent chevaus courre vers la pute lignie.
Ja i aura espées en cervel tõoillie ;
L'eschiele se repent que tant est aprochie,
Que plus de mil en ont la champaigne vuidie ;
Cil qu'en pot eschaper n'oublïa sa corgie,
Mes li retenu muerent sans trop longue haschie.

51 AYNSI conme li Turc orent place guerpie
Et li Grieu se retindrent qui n'aillent a folie,
Par .i. val parfont devers destre partie
Lor revint une eschiele du regne de Nubie.
Plus furent de .v. mil icele gent haïe,
N'i a nul qui ne port rade quane forbie,
Et li plusor avoient enseigne d'Aumarie.
Ains qu'il reviengne arriere ne revoie s'amie,
Salatins les conduit qui les Griex n'aime mie ;
Onques nus jones hom n'ot greignor estoutie,
Car ne prise cors d'ome vers le sien une aillie ;
El chief de rouge mer avoit herbergerie,

51, 3. *mi*] *supplied.* 10. *nus*] *supplied.*

50, 14. HV & (V Il) l. corre ensamble. 15. H cierviaus. V en sanc vermeil baignee. 16. V *inverts lines* 16 *and* 17. *que*] H ki. *est*] HV fu. 17. HV De. *mil*] H c. *vuidie*] HV **joncie** (V iüchee). 18. H *om. lines* 18 *and* 19. *quen*] I ki ; V qe. V gorgee. 19. V *om. line.* I M. l. remes i m. a duel & a h. [H Viers le gent Alxandre ont le place guerpie.]

51, 1. *Turc*] HV Griu. 2. I retraient. HV **Emenidus les tint.** HV kil. 3. H *om. line.* V. P. mi un v. [H & commande & defent quil ne facent folie.] 4. *reuint*] V resort. H Quant lor **sort** u. e. I dune gent d. N. 5. HV **vii.** *icele*] HV de cele. H hardie. 6. H N. a cel nait roiele ; Rouele auoit chescuns. HV & fort (V grant) cane brunie. 7. H & teus i. ot e. V & si out meint e. HV de soie d. 8. HV **Mult i ot de leur lois** (V loi) **fiere cevalerie.** 9. V nama. 10. *nus*] HV. H signorie. 11. H Cor. 12. H Al.

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He shot on thame full suddanly,
That to the ground full mony ȝeid,
All bathit into braine and blude,
That all the feildis strowit war.
Sa smartly thair thay can thame skar
That the fecht halely warpit thay,
And thay that micht fle fled away.
THVS as the furriouris ware
With shot of arrowis woundit sare,
Quhan gude Emynedus de Archade,
That gouernit thame wysely in that raid,
Had rushit and put abak halely
Throw his grit wit and cheualrie
Tha Turkis, throw his great bounte,
Sa saw he out of ane valie
Ane great battell ishe neir him by,
That was of the land of Nuby.
Thay micht be numbred vij. thousand,
Armit, on hors, baith fute and hand.
Dartis and staffis heidit with steill
Thay bair, and couth shute thame richt weill.
Thair micht na armour thame withstand,
Quhair thay come of ane stalwart hand.
Thay war ane sturdie companie
As of thair maner, sikkerlie.
Salarine led thame in that were,
That ȝoung was and of great effere.
He was sa full of succudry
That he prysit na man ane penny,
Aganis him corps for corps, for he
Trowit he past all vther in bounte.
By the Red See his Lordship lay,

[That

1660. L. *schot.*
1663. *Had*] He. L. *aback.*
1668. nuby.
1683. *Red See*] red see.

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Une cité molt bele, asazée et garnie,
Jene fu apelée quant el fu establie,
Tant par est environ large la pescherie
Que toute soloit paistre la terre de Sulie,
Mes or l'ont Crestïen deserte et agastie.
Salatins vorra faire premiers chevalerie ;
Ja fust a icest poindre nostre gent departie,
Ne fust Emenidus qui proësce n'oublie,
Qui derriere se mist o la lance brunie
Ce tant qu'il ot de gent ensamble o lui ralie ;
Grant hardement lor done quant " Macedoine ! " crie.

52 DEVANT ses conpaignons vint armés Salatins,
Onques puis ne nasqui plus cointes Bedoïns,
Ses chevaus fu couvers de .ij. riches porprins,
Fo. 29. Orfroisiés environ et par roies sanguins,
Mes, ains soleil couchant, changera ses latins ;
Molt ert d'autre maniere ains que soit li matins.
Il n'estoit mïe bien de sa paine devins,
Car n'i asamblast mie por .i. muy d'esterlins
Ne por trestoute Arrabe avec les Meulechins
S'il ne fust plus dervés que iriés Sarrasins.
O le fer de sa lance fu ocis .i. meschins
Qui fu parens Filote et ses germains cousins,
Puis en ot sa deserte, conme d'Abel Caÿns,
Car Licanor le fiert, qui prés ert ses cousins,

51, 13. *bele*] H noble. H asasee ; V aesee. 14. H clere ; V E le. H q. ele f. bastie. 15. H T. estoit rice & noble entor l. p. ; V Mult p. e. grans & bele entour la praierie. 16. H Q. toute repaiscoit. V Tote en reu'doit la terre de rossie. 17. H *om. line. agastie*] I essilie. V trestote adesertie. 18. HV p. ceste envaie.
[HV **Tant forment le** (V om.) **requiert** & **par tel envaie (V aatie)**].
[H Quar lasembler des gens en i brait mult & crie].
[HV **La mesnie le roi** (V roial) **fut mult afoiblole** (V kel sest **m'lt** esbaie).
Quar grant besoig avoient (V Car bosoing auoit grant) **de soucors & daie**].
19. *a icest*] H au premier. HV la bataille fenie. 20. H a la chiere hardie. 21. H Q. derrier eus sest mis. H o le l. enroidie ; V o lespee forbie. [H De plus de c. en a la campagne widie (*i.e.* **50, 17** *repeated*)]. 22. H *inverts lines* 22 *and* 23. H Cou q. avoit d. g. *ensamble*] H. *o*] H *om. lui*] V sei. 23. HV escrie.

52, 1. H Sor liart blance taille v. poignant S. [HV Baus de Grius (V des greus) desconfire tous les tint a frarins]. 2. *nasqui*] HV fu nes. I si riches b. ; V si curteis baudoins. 3. H S. escus f. c. d. ij. **cendaus** p. 4. H *om. lines* 4-10, V *om. lines* 5-10. 12. H *om. line.* I Cil. *fu*] IV ert. [HV Onques nel pot garir li (V sis) haubers doblentins]. [V **Parmi le cors li passe li gonfainons pourpris**]. [HV Que tous nen fust (V en fu) sanglens li bliaus osterins (V sis blials afforins)]. 13. V P. e. prist uengance. H com d. ot Cains. 14. V &. *ert*] H fu. IV uoisins. [HV **A mont de sor son elme u cler luist li or fins**].

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That was richt large, as I hard say.
This Salarine and his company
Socht thame of Grece so fellonly,
With dartis that richt sharpely share,
That fele of thame sair woundit ware.
Thair war thay set in sic ane thrang
That thay micht nocht it suffer lang.
Of succour and help great neid had thay;
Thair war thay set in sic affray
That thay had ilk ane tane the flicht,
Na war Emynedus the wicht,
That ay behind baid sturdely,
And, throw fors of his cheualry,
He stinting of his fais maid,
And helpit his that mister had.
And quhan he " Massidone ! " wald cry,
The best to him wald ay rely,
And helpe him weill with all thair micht;
Bot thay war all to few to ficht
Agane sa fele, bot nocht-for-thy
Thay did their deuour douchtelly.
BEFOIR his feiris raid Salaryne,
Armit in armour gude and fyne,
All couerit in fyne sandale.
Full sturdely start he out of stale,
And smot ane Gretian with ane speir,
And throw the body can him beir,
Quhill deid doun to the eard he ȝeid.
Bot he thairof gat sone his meid,
For Lycanor hit him, I hicht,
With his brand, was burneist bricht,
Weill heich vpon the helm of steill,

[That

1690. *nocht*] not. 1703. forthy.
Lines 1701-04 *are not paralleled in the French text.*

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Dessi en la cervele but li brans acherins.
Filotes vint armés, desous son elme enclins ;
Quant vit mort son neveu qu'a terre jut sovins,
Doucement le regrete et despiece ses crins.
Por la mort du baron conmencha tel traïns
Dont le jor fu perciés maint pelichons hermins
Et mains bons chevaliers aprochiés de lor fins.
La mellée conmence lés le brueil de sapins,
Des mors et des navrés fu jonchiés li chemins ;
Plus d'une arbalestée endura li traïns.

53 LICANOR et Filote vont irié par l'estor,
Et sont andui li frere armé d'une color,
Alixand' reclaiment, le noble empereör :
" Ay ! con grant soufrete avons hui de seignor !
Tholomer et Danclins ! ne savés la dolor
Que li baron de Grece suefrent hui en cest jor !
Vous venissiés molt bien encor hui au secor ! "
Licanor vait ferir .i. des fis Sarator,
Le chief sor les espaules en a pris a son tor.
Es vous Murmigalés desour .i. missoudor ;
Sire estoit de Melite et tint Roche menor,
Onques en sa contrée n'ot tel sortisseör.
Il se fierent de prés o les brans de color,
Et poignent avec lui tel mil conbateör
N'i a .iij. qui ne soient de son fief teneör.
Et li sires fu riches et de molt grant valor,
En la terre d'Aufrique n'ot tel devineör,
Sovent demostre pertes et joies et tristor.
Sa lance fu molt fort, il la tint par vigor,
Et vait ferir Filote en l'escu de color ;
A ce que ses cevauls ot trop soffiert le jor,
Abat entre ses cuisses le destrier missodor ;
Sor la jambe senestre li jut conme .i. tor,
Entre lui et la terre le tint tant a sejor
C'onques du relever ne pot avoir loisor ;
De sor lui s'arresterent tel mil combateör
C'onques mes a nul jor as Griex n'orent amor ;
As espées li sont de mort presenteör.

53, 22. missodour. 23. tour. 26. arre. 27. *mes*] *supplied.*

52, 15. *en*] V ken. H Que dusqua l. c. 16. HV F. tint (V tret) lespee & fu sor lelme e. 17. H *om. line.* IV Q. (I &) v. m. s. parent *.iut*] I gist. 18. HV Bonement. 19. *baron*] H vallet ; V uassal. H c. li hustins. 21. H *om. line.* 22. H & li estors c. *le*] V vn. *brueil*] H bos. H des. 24. HV *om. line.*

53, 1. *irie*] H **poignant.** 3. *noble*] H rice ; V maigne. 4. H *om. line.* IV Ahi. *I*] V si. 5. H Clincon. 6. H aront h. icest i. ; V sufferont h. cest i. 7. *bien*] H tos. I V. i v. b. H ame en mi lestor ; I ains la nuit a lestor ; V eneueis a. s. [I Samenissies o vous secors de rice

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That was of gold inamalit weill,
That he baith blude and harnes shed.
Sa hard ane pais thair he thame led
That he fell deid doun dissaly;
And Phylot, that was neir him by,
Regratit his cousine that he slew,
And suld him venge, gif he war trew.
LYCANOR and Philot alsua,
Thay wonder worthie brether tua,
All armit weill in ane cullour,
Come prickand straitly in the stour.
Alexander regratit thay,
And said thay had great nede that day
Of Dauclene and of Tholomere,
That wist na wayis how thay were
Demanit in that felloun fecht.
Lycanor stoutly straik ane knicht,
That baith his helme and his heuit
Richt by the shoulderis away he reuit.
Guy Marmaduke of Affrike,
Ane Lord of Spanze, nane him like,
Come with ane thousand in leding.
He was ane Lord of great halding;
And met Philot sa sturdelly.
With that, his hors was sa weary
That hors and he to erd doun ȝeid;
Vpon his leg sa lay the steid
That he on na wayis micht vpryse.
Than thay that war his enemeis
Assemblit on him ane great menȝe.
He was in point to perished be,
The ensigne of Massidone couth he cry,

[That

1733. *heuit*] heid. 1735. affrike. 1747. massidone.
1734. *reuit*] reid. 1738. L. *lord.*

---

ator]. 8. H Salator; V sarratour. 9. *sor les*] V fors des. *son*] H cel. 10. Ginohocet; V **gimardocet**. H le frere Maumacor. 11. H Milaite; I Tudel. V S. fu d. midele. *roche*] V riche. H & sen avoit lounor. 12. *sa*] H la. V O. e. nule terre. H nen ot malvais signor; V n. t. deuinour. 13. V *om. line.* H D. p. le vet ferir o le b. par irour. 14. H & a. l. josterent. 15. HV N. a cel q. de lui (V nuls de celui) H n. tiegne grant ounour; V ne soient t. 16. V si out m. g. **henor**. 17. HV sortiseor. 18. *demostre*] H *om.* 19. V *om. line.* H *inverts lines* 19 *and* 20. H & i. vait p. v. 20. HV Cil (V Si) a feru F. H e. l. paint a flor. [H A lestraindre des armes & al fais del contor]. 21. *ses*] H li. *trop*] H tant. 22. H Li a. desous lui. 23. *iambe*] H hance. *li iut*] H cei. I se gist sor i. rocor. 24. H loisor (*cp. next line*). 25. H C. de soi aidier; I C. de remonter; V Kunques de lui uenger. 26. H *om. lines* 26-28. [IV Sor Filote saretent (V sareste) mȝint fil de vavasor]. 27. I *om. line.* V Ki uers la gent de grece n. unkes a. [IV Contre tere le fierent sor lescu paint (V de sur sun helme) a flor]. V *om. line* 28.

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Cil crïe " Macedoine ! " que l'entendent plusor ;
La i porra bien perdre s'il n'a secors des lor.

54

LI Grieu oënt l'enseigne Alixand' crïer ;
Por Filote rescourre i courent .iiij. per,
Perdicas et Lïones et Caulus qui fu ber,
Emenidus d'Arcage qui tant fait a loër.
La veïssiés les Griex fierement assambler
Et chascier et foïr et guenchir et torner,
Assés en pau de terre les peüssiés trover.
Au chaple des espées les ont fait remüer.
La ot trenchié maint hiaume ains qu'il peüst monter
Ay ! con grant damage que li Grieu sont si cler !
A tant d'esfort con orent, les firent remuër.
Cil de Gadres s'aïrent quant les virent entrer ;
Car il par sont si pau c'on les peüst nombrer.

54, 13. *Car il*] Cil.

53, 29. H q. loirent p. 30. H Ja li poront aidier se il en ot loisor.
54, 2. H P. souscorre F. V **poingne** li quatre p. 3. H & **Lincanors** li b. 4. HV q. ne se vot celer. 5. *griex*] H gens. H entor lui a. ; V belement a. 6. H *om. line.* V *om. lines* 6-8. 7. H terme. H l. peust on nonbrer. 8. H *places* l. 8 *after* l. 11. H sus en estant lever. 9. H La veiscies des brans tant ruste cop doner (*cp.* **55**, 3, *reading of* H.) ; V M. h. i o. t. anceis kil poit m. [V & meint poin e meint pie i ueisset uoler]. 10. *si*] V trop. 11. H A tel esfort kil o. H relever ; I retorner. 12. *entrer*] V esteer. H q. le v. monter. 13. *Car il*] I ; V Car tant estoient poi. H En s. petit de terme com durent relever.

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That of his feiris hard mony.
He may weill tyne in hy, but he
With succour sone reskewit be.
QVHAN thay of Grece sa hard him cry
The Kingis ensigne, that was worthy,
Agane thay prikkit in that stour
To help Philot and to succour.
With the formaist came Perdicas
And Lyoun, that sa worthie was,
His brother Lycanor alsua ;
The gude Emynedus came with tha.
Than micht thay se that had bene by
The knichtis of Grece full sturdely
Assemblit with their fais thair,
Strykand great straikis with brandis bair.
Thair was to-hewin mony hede,
Or Philote rais out of that stede,
And mony knychtis fell vnderfeit,
That had na power to ryse ȝit.
Bot, allace, it was mekill sin
That thay of Grece war maid sa thin ;
Thay rushit thair fais sa sturdelly,
Bot, thocht thay few war, nocht-for-thy
Thay gart thame remufe furth of that plais ;
And quhan thair fais saw that thair was
Sa great helpe in sa few, that micht
Counter thame in the felloun ficht,
Thay had thairat sa great dispyte
That thay prysit nocht worth ane myte
Thair strenth nor ȝit thair cheualry,
Bot thay thame counterit sa in hy
That thay thair heades tyne ilkane.

[Than

1779. *That*] Bot.

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Iriéement guenchissent, si vont a euls joster,
Ja covendra as febles les plus fors endurer,
Ou euls couvient morir ou du besoing torner.

55 POR Filote resscorre sont li Grieu assamblé,
Et li plus esperdus a son sanc recouvré.
La ot as brans d'acier maint pesant cop doné,
Merveilleus fais i ont li preudome enduré.
Emenidus d'Arcage a .i. gent poindre outré :
L'amiral d'Escalone a si bien encontré
Le chief sus les espaules li a du bu sevré.
Cil s'arrestent sor lui, qui molt l'orent amé,
La ot batuës paumes et maint chevel tiré,
Maint chapel sebelin desor les cors geté ;
Et li Grieu entre tant ne sont mie oublïé,
Car Filote ont par force el cheval remonté.
De vengier son annui a bien le cuer membré ;
Ce qu'il fu abatus ert encui comperé.
Emenidus lait corre le cheval abrievé,
Desous les fers en a maint chaillou esgrüé,
Et se fiert li gentiex en l'estor aduré.
Si con li espriviers qui vole a recelé,
Depart les estorneaux qui pasturent el pré,
Desront Emenidus par vive poësté
La force des Gadrains quant il sont assamblé.
Cele part ou il torne, sont il molt esfraé ;

54, 14. Iriement.

54, 14. H Hastiement ; V Idnelement. *si*] HV &. 15. H al faible. H le plus fort. HV conparer. [HV **Nel porent li Grijois lonjement endurer**]. 16. H Vers e. c. guencir o. de **lestor** t.

55, 1. H P. secoure F. 2. HV **om. line.** 3. H L. veiscies des b. tante ruste c. d. (*cp.* **54**, 9, *reading of* H). 4. HV **om. line.** 5. *gent*] HV **grant.** 6. H de Calone ; V dascaloine. 7. *li*] H en. HV al branc. 8. V & c. sunt entour l. 9. *For lines* 9-10 HV *have one ;* **A loi de jentil homme lont plaint & regrete.** 11. V & l. griu sa rescourent. *mie*] H pas. 12. H P. f. ront F. sus e. c. monte ; V F. o. e. c. p. f. releue. 13. H *inverts ll.* 13 *and* 14. *le*] V son. 14. *encui*] H a peu. V ont ml't cher c. 15. *cheual*] V destrer. H E. lasist (? sasist) el destrier a. 16. HV *om. line.* 17. V & si f. li bon quons. 18. H Ausi com lespriviers ; V Issi cum lessperuers. 20. V Depart. *vive*] H fiere. 21. H u mius s. entasse ; V q. i. s. arote.

[H Emenidus darcade qui fu plains de fierte
En sa main tint le branc dont maint cop ot done].

22. *molt*] H tout.

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Than wraithly on thame ar thay gane,
And mony ruid rummill thay gaif;
The wakar sone the war can haif.
The Grecianis micht nocht suffer lang
That preis, na that vntholfull thrang,
Bot die thame worthit, knaif and knicht,
Or at that time eschew the ficht.
THE folk of Grece assemblit are
To help Philot with brandis bare;
Thair geuin was mony sturdy straik.
Emynedus ane great shot can make
Far by his feiris euerilkane,
And thairwithall he met with ane,
The Admarall of Eskaloun;
Baith helme and heid, without ransoun,
Richt by the shoulder away he share,
And left him lyand dede richt thair.
Thay menit him and his bountie,
As sik ane Lord sould menit be.
In the mene tyme Phylot throw fors
Was reskewit and set on hors,
That thinkis to venge his harmis in hy;
I trow, or euin sum sall it by.
EMYNEDVS his steid thair straucht,
And, as ane man of mekill maucht,
He plungit in the stalwart stour;
And as ane Falcoun of hie attour
Straik Stirlingis, sa skaillit he
Throw his great strenth and his bounte
The strenth of the Gaderanis, quhair thay
War semblit on thair best array.
Thay war abaissit quhair he raid,

[And

1783. *nocht*] not.
1791. L. *euerilk ane.*
1794. *Baith*] With. *and*] on.
1799. L. *Philot.*
1809. gaderanis.
1811. L. *abassit.*

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De conduire son corps a chascuns en pensé.
Fo. 29v. Ains qu'isse de l'estor en a .v. mort geté.
Uns Arrabis le fiert qui derriers l'ot visé,
D'une cane molt rade o .i. fer aceré,
Le blanc hauberc du dos li a ront et fausé
Et le cors du vassal d'outre en outre navré,
Si que de l'autre part en a le fer mostré ;
La cane brise el cors, forment l'a esgené,
Il meïsmes l'en tret que molt ot grant fierté,
Puis a celui de prés o le branc si hasté
Que jusqu'en la chainture l'a fendu et copé ;
Puis a de son blïaut tout le pan deschiré,
Par deseure sa plaie en a son cors bendé
Por le sanc restanchier qui issoit a plenté.
De ses conpaignons crient que il sont molt grevé,
Mes s'il savoient or de son mal la purté,
N'i auroit puis samblant de bien faire mostré,
Lor termine atendroient, du tout desconforté,
Car s'il seus lor defaut, malement ont ovré.

56 CIL de Gadres n'ont mie conneüe l'ovraingne
Si conme Emenidus d'Arcage les mahaingne,
Qui est el cors navrés assés prés de l'entraingne,
Fors seul le duc Betis a la chiere grifaingne ;
Cil vit le cop ferir et la plaie qui saingne.
Por ce que sa mesnie la trove si estraingne,
Et tous li recouvriers estoit de sa conpaingne ;
En fu liés en son cuer, ne cuidiés qu'il s'en plaigne !
Vers lui point le cheval, mes ains crïe s'ensaingne.
Et Emenidus sist sus Ferrant de Brehaingne,
Ains nus ne vit meillor, ne gascon ne d'Espaingne ;

54, 29. *part*] par.

55, 23. *corps*] H cop. *en pense*] H volente. 24. *For line* 24 HV *have two:* **Cil qui ancois pooit** (V Cil que onkes einz pot) **li a cemin livre** **Au departir dun Turc quil avoit** (V lor a) **m. jete.** 25. HV L. f. i. A. V kar de trois. l. v. 26. *rade*] H fort. *i. fer*] H le branc. 27. H L. b. auberc li a. ; V Li a l. b. h. HV ronpu & depane (V desaffre). 28. H & le ceval ausi ; V & l. v. el c. H par mi l. c. n. 29. *part*] HV. H a tout l. f. pase. 30. *cane*] H lance. *cors*] HV pis. HV qui mult la e. (H engane). 31. *len*] H la. HV car m. o. g. (H avoit) f. 32. *de pres*] V meisme. *si haste*] H asene. 33. H Desi qui es **espaules** ; V Q. desken l. ceruele. 34. HV D. s. b. hermin (V hermine) a **i.** (V le) p. d. (V desseure). 35. HV P. encontre ses (V le miliu des) plaies. 36. V estancher. V kin. *issoit*] H **en cort** ; V aloit. 37. *que*] V kar. H q. i. ne soient outre. 38. H Quar ; V &. *purte*] H **vrete.** 39. V auoit. *puis*] H plus. I d. combatre m. 40. *termine*] H fin. V attendoient. 41. H C. se il l. d. ; V C. si il s. l. faut. V erre.

56, 1. *In* V *the assonance is in* -aine. H N m. li Gadrain. H louvrage.

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And richt grete roume thay to him maid.
Sa fell it, as he come agane
Fra ane Gaderaine that he had slane,
That ane Arraby with ane dart,
As Emynedus raid him frauart,
Gyrd quyte throw his body out,
Bot he, that staluart was and stout,
Arraissit it out of his body sone,
And syne withoutin langer hone
He socht him sa that it him gaif,
The heid vnto the schoulderis claif,
Syne of his coit ane lap he schare,
And band his felloun wound sa sare
To stanche the blude that fast out ran,
For of his feiris he dred him than,
For drede thai sould discumfit be;
Bot, had thai wittin in certante
How that it stude than with him thare,
Thai suld think on defence na mair,
Bot, but comfort, abide thair deid,
For, and he faill, thair war na rede.
THAY of Gaderis knew nocht the case,
How gude Emynedus woundit was
Throw out the body quyte and clene;
Bot duke Betys the straik hes sene
And, for he saw him douchtely
Reskew full oft his company
And skaith him throw his great bounte,
Richt blyth in hart thairof was he,
And towart him he straik his steid.
Emynedus the gude at neid
Sat on Ferrand that weill him bare,

[His

1814. gaderaine; *that*] L. *thar*.
1815. arraby.
1817. *quyte*] quyle.
1820. *withoutin*] without.
1842. ye.
1843. ferrand yat will.

2. H Comment E. *les*] V se. H a la ciere grifagne (*cp. l.* 4). 3. H Estoit ferus e. c.; V Ki ferus e. e. c. [Ni a nul dez gazereins ki mile garde enpreine]. 5. H Qui. 6. *la*] HV le. 7. H *om. line*. 8. HV na droit que il s. p. 9. HV & escrie s. [HV & commande sa gent que cele part sestragne]. 10. HV E. seoit (V se s.) H dalemagne; V de bahaigne. 11. V Einz ne v. hom m. H & nul m. navoit en icele conpagne.

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En son poing tint s'espée forgie en Alemaingne,
Ce jor ne la donast por l'ounor d'Aquitaingne ;
Et Betis li descent du pié d'une montaingne,
Illec s'entr'encontrerent a si dure bargaingne
Molt en porra li uns pau prisier sa gäaingne,
Qu'ains ne dona tex cox Corostans de Bretaingne,
Ne cil, de Durendal, qui fu niés Charlemaingne,
Com fait Emenidus, qui mautalent engraingne.
Betis n'a si fort hiaume dont li aciers ne fraingne,
N'il n'a tant de loisir qu'il au cheval se praingne ;
Si lons conme il estoit, mesura la champaingne.
Qui voit sa contenance ne dit pas qu'il se faingne !
Li sans li saut du nés qui son visage baingne,
Or li avra mestier mires qui sanc restraingne,
Car cil l'a encontré qui maint orgueil mahaingne ;
Dés hui més est bien drois que cis besoins remaigne.

57 POR secorre Betis i sont ses gens venues,
.iij. eschieles d'un tertre qui erent descendues,
En la menor avoit .v. cens lances molues
Et mil canes drecies contre-mont vers les nues.
Les conpaingnes le roi ont durement ferues,

56, 16. gaingne. 18. Charlemaine.

56, 12. H T. lespee e. s. p. ; V Espee t. el p. V forbie. H f. dalemagne. 13. *la*] H li. H p. lamor de Sardegne. [HV Ireement **covance le val de la campagne** (V le uauacel dune plaine)]. 14. HV d. chief d. (H de la) m. 15. *dure*] H male. V el plein de la chāpaine. 16. H Que m. e. p. luns. H gaagne ; V bargaine (*cp. prec. line*). 17. H Quar ains mius ne feri. H Costentins ; I Forestan ; V dur estal. 19. H *om. line*. 20. HV que entor (V par mi) ne li fregne. 21. *quil*] H que ; V qua. *au*] V son. 23. H vist. H n. desist q. s. fagne ; V n. quide q. s. feingne. 24. HV Teus **rais**. *visage*] H bistire. 25. H Bien. HV aroit. HV m. q. plaie estagne (V estraigne). 26. H *orgueil*] H home. 27. *hui*] HV or. *bien*] H il. V Desoremez e. b. d. *besoins*] HV orgius (V orgoil).

57, 1. *i sont*] H furent). 2. *d. t. q. e.*] HV q. sunt d. t. 3. H m. l. **esmolues**. 4. *drecies*] H mult raides. V & portent c. **reddes**. HV & m. (V granz) **espees** nues.

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His sword in hand that scharply schare,
That he wald nocht haue geuin, that day,
For mare gold than I can ȝow say.
He raid ane lytill tyme vnder ane hill;
Betys com doun the bank him till;
Thair haif thai maid sic ane meting
That athir may prys small his winning.
Arthour, na Gawane of Britane,
Na ȝit Rolland, na Charlis the mane,
Gaif neuer sa grete dintis, I hecht,
As did Emynedus the wicht,
For, thocht that Betys helm of steill
Was gude and sicker, wit ȝe weill
He all to-fruschit it with that dint,
That stonyit Betys quhill he tint
His sterapis and to the erd he ȝeid;
His lenth he mesurit in the meid;
At neis and mouth the blude out brast,
And at his eris, sa farly fast
That all was baithit in to blude.
It was Emynedus the gude,
That weill couth stanche ane doggit pryde,
That sa met with him at that tyde.
To stanch his woundis, that fast couth bleid,
Of leich I trow he sall haif neid.
For to reskew the duke Betys,
His men come prekand, that wourthy was.
Thre buschmentis in full great hy
Come to the stour full sturdely,
That in the last was thre thousand,
With sword and spere or dart in hand,
That in thair cumming full rudely

[Stonyit

1848. L. *come;* ye. 1859. ye erd; L. *yeerd.*
1855. yat. 1872. ye.
Minuscule at line 1862.

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Et laidïes forment, et si escombatues
Que, ferant, les en mainent, et mates et vaincues,
Vers .i. viés chastelet par unes gastes rues.
Emenidus d'Arcage ot ses resnes rompues ;
Au guenchir sor le duc, les ot cortes tenues,
Li bouion estendirent, si furent fors issues ;
Et Ferrans s'en cort miex par les conbes agues
Que faucons montaniers ne vole aprés les grues.
Cil se tint a la serre qui maintes ot veües ;
Ses oevres au besoing n'ierent pas dissolues.
De delés unes brueilles menuëment fueillues,
La retint son cheval, dont paines ot eües.
Ses resnes renoées li avoit Diex rendues ;
Or seront as Gadrains dures pomes creües !

58 POR secorre Betis sont ses gens asemblées,
.iii. eschieles qui furent d'un tertre devalées,
A cheval le r'ont mis, ses armes recouvrées,
Son poitral ralaschié, ses resnes renoées.
Le miex de ses barons et ses gens plus privées
En a a une part devers soi apelées,
De vengier son anui les a amonestées,
Et il les en trova molt bien entalentées.
Emenidus d'Arcage a ses resnes noées,
Et remonte en Ferrant sans nules demorées.
Si conme cers de lande et bisses effraées
Que li veneör ont o les chiens eslevées,
Revient li gentis hom au chaple des espées.
Les conpaingnes le roi trova desbaretées,
D'aïde et de conseil durement esgarées,

57, 12. sencort. **58, 9.** entroua.

57, 7. *&*] HV *om.* V mortes. 8. H Les i. viel castieler ; V V i. ueuz chasteler. H vers une vielle rue ; I totes v. grans r. ; V tote v. g. r. 9. H perdues. 10. *sor*] HV ver (V vers). 11. H bouton ; V bozon. *furent*] V sen sunt. 12. H le c. ; I senfuit ; V sen ueut. *les*] H ces. 13. HIV Q. li faus (V nuls facons) monteniers (I motardin). *ne*] V quant. H la grue. 14. V C. s. prent al chaufrein. H C. est pis au ceval que li cors sesvertue. 15. H erent bien conneues. 16. H Dales i. boskeret dont li rain sunt follues. 17. *son*] V le. 18. H S. r. ambes ii. a iluec retenues ; V Si s. armes a or l. eust D. rendues. 19. H A. G. resunt o. ; V A. gazreins reserroient. H paines ; V peines.

58, 2. H iiii. *furent*] HV sunt. V del. 3. V a. a r. *For lines* 3 *and* 4 H *has one :* Li dus monte el c. regnes ot r. 4. V & s. r. nouees. 5. H *inverts lines* 5 *and* 6. H Des m. d. sa maison que il ot p. amees. 6. H A u. p. e. a de ses gens a. 8. *molt*] H tres. 9. *a*] HV ot. 10. H *om. line.* V el cheual. *nules*] V plus de. 11. *&*] V ou. H S. cum bestes d. bos par buisons e. 12. H toute le jor brisees. 13. H *om. line.* 14. H *places line* 14 *after line* 10. H La mesnie l. r. 15. H D. d. signor ; V & dayder lor seign.

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Stonyit the Kingis company,
And ruschit thame ane weill gude way ;
Of succour mekill neid had thay.
Emynedus mekill debait can ma
To tak the duke, or than to sla ;
And, to ane turning that he couth mak,
The renȝe of his brydill brak,
And Ferrand thair-with held his way,
Sa suyft that ferly was to say,
Quhill, at ane hill, with mekill pane
He restrenȝeit his steid agane.
He knyt his renȝe in great hy
And syne lap on deliuerly.
I trow nane sall him find that day
Sa far out of the hard assay.
TO succour duke Betys, his men
Stoutly to him assemblit than.
On hors thai set him haistaly,
That for the dynt was richt desy.
The maist preuit of his barnye,
In full grete ire, in hy callit he.
[Him] to reuange great will he had,
And fast inducit he thame, and bad ;
And thai that war in will to do
His will, assentit sone thair-to.
Emynedus hes knyt his renȝe,
And in his sterapis can him strenȝe.
As falcone that wald haue fude ful fain
Come lansand to the lure agane,
Sa come the douchty duke to the fecht.
His fallouis fand he than, I hecht,
Sa skalit and sa straitly stad

[That

1876,-80,-94, 1904,-05. ye.
1881,-89,-99, 1903. yat.
1883. ferrand yair with.
1892. L. *assemble ;* yan.
1893,-99. yai.
1900. yair to.
1906. yan.
1907. *stad*] stand.

Minuscule at line 1892.

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Car plusor s'enfuïrent, les targes adossées,
Et ont l'estor guerpi et les lances getées.
Lors a li gentix hom grosses larmes plorées,
D'aval li sont du cuer el visage montées,
Si que par mi les iex li furent fors colées.
Il lor crïe : " Baron, desservés les soudées
Qu'Alixand' vous a par maintes fois donées !
Mal auroit emploié ses vins et ses peurées,
Ses chars, ses venisons et fresches et salées,
Ses riches dras de soie et ses porpres roées,
Ses biaus hanas d'argent et ces coupes dorées,
Et son vair et son gris qu'il nous done a charrées,
Et bons chevaus de pris et mules a feutrées,
Et doné les honnors quant les a conquestées
Se ci ne sont por lui nos proësces mostrées,
Dont porroit il bien dire que mal sont alouées !
Por noiënt avés hui tant lor forces doutées
Que lor meillors batailles avons tex conraées
Toutes sont desrompues, n'ierent més asamblées.
Gardés bien vos honors, franches gens honorées !
Fines proësces sont au besoing esprovées !
Hui més verrois mes cox et mes pointes doublées ! "

61 BETIS resaut en piés qui ot ire et pesance,
Et remonte el cheval sans nule demostrance,
Car il estoit des siens la mieudre recovrance
N'onques més en estor ne souffri mescheänche.
Il esgarde les Griex et la lor contenanche,
Puis en jure ses diex ou il a sa creänce
Se li home Alixand' sont tuit de tel poissance,

58, 27. acharrees. **61, 4.** *mes*] *supplied.*

58, 16. HV C. (H &) li auquant enfuient (V sen uūt) l. t. endosees. 17. HV Les escus o. guerpis. 19. H Del c. l. s. a mont ; V D. le quor l. s. 20. H *om. line.* V l. resunt hors c. 21. HV Dont sescria (V Lors escria) eu haut. HV deservons. 22. HV Que **nos** a Alixandres. 23. I M. a. esploitie. 25. H listees. 26. H & s. b. garnimens. 27. *For lines* 27-29 HV *have one :* & ses beles **rikecces** que (V kil) nos a presentees. 30. *nos*] H ces. 31. HV *om. line.* 32. HV auons. *lor*] H nos. V l. f. redotees. 33. IV car. *lor*] H nos. *tex*] H li. 34. H vencues & matees. 35. *bien*] H hui. 36. HV *om. line.*

'*Laisses*' **61,** **64,** *and* **65,** *absent in* V, *occur* in HI. *The variants not indicated* 'I' *are those of* H.

61, 1. V com hon de grant poisance. 2. s. longe demorance. 4. Onques mais e. e. 6. Si. 7. vaillance.

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That sum of thame all planely fled.
He menit thame with greting than,
Quhill teiris ouer his cheikis ran.
He cryit than, with mekill mane,
" Now, gentill Lordis, turne agane,
And serue 3our soldis of the King,
That geuis sa mony ryall thing
To vs, and that sa largely !
He had set euill and wickedly
His meat, his drink and his clething,
His gilt coupes, with the couering
And other riches in mony wyse
That he hes geuin to us fele syse,
And our worship and our bounte
Heir for his saik sould shawin be.
And thocht our fais hes fast vs socht,
Me think forsuith that we sould nocht
Dreid thame, for thair best battellis are
Skaillit and broken heir and thair.
The laif ar nocht to dreid greatly.
Keip 3our honour, lordis, for-thy ! "
With that, thay all assemblit ar
To him, and thay that fleand war.

QVHAN duke Betys saw the stoutnes
Of thame of Grece and the gudnes,
That neuer sa qvhein war of sik micht
To helpe thame-selfis into ane ficht,
He swore hiely be his Goddis then
That, gif all Alexanderis men
War of sic micht and sic bounte,
That nouther castell nor 3it cittie,
Na dukrie, na 3it vther land,

[Na

1912. L. *turn.*
1916. seteuill.
1920. L. *fule.*
1927. L. *are.*

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Ou mont n'a nule terre ou truissent contr'estance ;
" Ou il ne sevent gueres, ou il le font d'enfance !
S'or nes fais remuër, molt aurai grant pesance ! "
Le destrier esperone qui fu nés d'Abilance,
Si feri Licanor qui les autres avance,
Devers le costé destre, sor la reconnoissance,
Par mi le cors li met le coutel de sa lance.
Licanor tret le branc qui fu fais a Valance,
Et fiert le duc Betis el hiaume de Costance,
Si grant cop li dona desor l'archon la lance ;
Si navrés conme il ert, en presist la vengance
Quant aprés le duc poignent tel .m. d'une sequance
Qui tuit erent si home de la sieue liiance.
Caulus ont abatu et Aristé d'Ocance,
De tex .xxx. Grejois vous i ont fait grevance
Dont li rois aura ire et dolor et pesance.
La bataille grezesche a ce poindre balance ;
Il n'i a si hardi qui n'ait de mort doutance.

61, 18. prist.

61, 8. Il n. cite el m. o. aient c. [Il le font par **orguel ou cou est grans beubance**]. 9. *seuent*] I saiment. *denfance*] I deffance. 10. aront. 11. L. ceval e. de le rue de France. 13. H *places line* 13 *after line* 15. 14. mist. *sa*] la. 15. I a œuvre de V. 16. H sor la reconnisance (*cp. line* 13) ; I en lelme sans dotance. 17. HI que sor larcon ladance (I avance). 18. est. *presist*] H. *la*] il. 19. Q. a. l. d. ceurent t. m. de sa cointance. 20. H d. l. soie aliance ; I d. foie & daliance. 21. Caunu. H dotrante ; I de Quance. 22. i o. f. desevrance. 23. Cil de Gadres les outrent qui en ont la p. 24. Li conpagne des Grius. 25. *a*] ot. neust d. m. d.

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Na strenth of men micht thame ganestand.
For he sawe neuer in all his tyde,
Him thocht, men of sa mekill pryde,
Bot nocht-for-thy he said and suair,
Bot gif that he remouit thame thair,
He pryssit him nocht worth ane penny.
On thame he prikit than in hy,
And smot shir Licanor sa fast
That baith his sheild and haubrek brast ;
And bair him throw the body out.
Bot Lycanor that was styth and stout,
With his brand that was bitter of bit,
Duke Betys on the helme he hit
Sa great ane rout, he gart him ly
Vpon the arsoun dissaly.
Als woundit [as] he was, perfay,
He had tane vengeance weill that day,
Na war that Gaderanis in ane ling
Come to thair lordis recouering,
That war ane thousand and weil mair.
Caulus to erd was borne doun thair,
And dyueris deid, quhairat the King
Maid efter for thame great murning ;
And than Gaderanes the folk of Grece
Rushit abak ane waill gude space.
Was nane sa hardy of that rout
That he na than to die had dout.
The duke Betis forȝet him nocht
To greue the Grecians that he mocht,
Or anis he thinkis thame for to leid,
Or outher sall thay all be deid,
Or ellis ly in his presoun.

[Sary

1942. samekill.

1970. L. *they*.
Lines 1967-86 *are not paralleled in our MSS.*

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64 LI Grieu lessent l'estor si se partent atant,
Des plusors vous os dire que il s'en vont fuiant,
Li Gadrain les enchaucent ques vont molt jostisant.
D'Emenidon vous di qu'il se vait deffendant,
Grosse lance en son poing derriers contretenant
Et le grant fais des lor et la presse endurant,
Et de maint chevalier les grans cox enchargant.
Qui il encontre bien, a la terre l'estent.
Avec lui reguenchissent des autres ne sai quant,
Li preudome et li per, li chevalier vaillant.
Gadifer des Laris i vint esperonant,
Si navrés conme il ert, sa lance paumoiant,
Grosse l'ot, recovrée o .i. fer bien trenchant,
Et s'est bien afichiés el destrier remuänt.
Miex vuet, ce dit, morir que il s'en aille atant.
Quant il s'en partira ne cuide c'uns s'en vant !
Emenidus li torne la teste du ferrant,
De .ij. meillors chevaus ne vous cont nus ne chant,
Et li seignor sont tel con l'en trueve lisant

64, 1. *se*] sen. 2. *os*] I puis. H De p. oes d. H quil se v. desfendant ; I qui sentorment f. 3. & les v. damajant. Emenidus darcade cil sala d. 5. L. g. e. s. p. detries c. 6. H *inverts lines* 6 *and* 7. 7. rechevant. 8. lespant. 9. A. l. sunt guenci d. a. ne li auquant. 11. *des*] del. vait. 12. S. n. que i. fu. *sa*] se. 13. Roide l. r. a. i. fil damirant. 14. *sest*] est. auferrant. 15. & dist m. v. m. q. de lui voist gabant. 16. Mais ains quil se departe n. cuic pas quil s. v. 17. l. cief de lauferrant. 18. n. conte n. n. cant.

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Sary was than Emynedoun
Quhen he saw how his feris war
Scalit and soupit heir and thair ;
He menit thair perplexite,
And suith his scheild than braissit he,
Far was to seik ane better knycht.
His steid he straik with spurris brycht,
And plungit in the preis agane ;
And with sic vertew and sic mane
He smot the douchty Gaudifere,
Throw scheild, haubrek and all his gere,
That all the pensale of his spere
He butlingis in his body can bere.
I trow straitly, [thai] that thare play
But skaith sall nocht be left that day,
THE folk of Grece ourset the stour,
And to ane strenth, to get succour,
Thame thai with-drew in full grete hy ;
To say suth, some fled vtterly.
Bot sickerly Emynedoun
Ay behind can him abandoun,
Defendand his that had mister.
Ane grete rude spere and schairp to schere
He had recouerit in his hand ;
Agane his dynt had nane warand.
Gaudifere com than in ane lyng,
And waindit nocht for his wounding,
Vpon ane nobill bay prekand.
Emynedus straucht to him Ferrand.
Tua better stedis, perfay,
I trow thair can na man say,
And the knychtis war sa wourthy

[That

1972. emynedoun. 1978. spurrus. 1989. *Thame*] That ; yai.
1975, 2002. yair. 1979,-80,-83. ye. 2000. ferrand.
1976. yan. 1985,-86. yat. 2001. L. *steidis*.

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Qu'ains dui meillor ne furent en cest siecle vivant.
Li .i. ot gros le cuer, li autres fier talent,
Entreferir se vont sus es blasons devant,
N'i arrestent li fer ne qu'en .i. troé gant,
Mes li hauberc estoient et serré et tenant,
Et li vassal molt preu et li ceval corant.
Ne vont pas d'ambleüre, mes d'eslais ravinant,
Si affichié se truevent n'en i ot .i. ploiant,
Des escus s'entrehurtent si fort en trespassant
Que les boucles en froissent qui sont d'or reluisant ;
Tous les genous s'escorchent, si prés se vont rasant.
Brisent naseaus et cercles a or resplendissant
Et rompent les poitraus conme .i. viés bougerant,
Les mailles vont la char et le cuir detrenchant
Qu'a tot jors lor est més a lor vïes parant.
Tout li mains estonnés ot le chief si pesant
Qu'a val torne li coing du hiaume en souclinant,
N'i ot si fort ceval qui remaigne en estant ;
Et il tout estordi sont par terre gisant,
N'i a celui qui riens son conpaignon demant.

65 MOLT se furent mal mis li vassal aïrous,
Espris de mautalent et de pris convoitous,
Mes nus de tel chëoir ne doit estre hontous,
Qu'il erent li plus preu et li mains päourous
Qui fussent en cel ost, c'os bien dire d'euls dous
Il n'i ot .i. seul Grieu de fuïr si coitous
Tost ne soit reguenchis frés et chevalerous,
La ou cil ert chëois qui n'est pas orgueillous,
Mes frans et debonaires et dous et amorous
Et met son cors por euls en besoing perillous.
Et li Gadrain repoignent qui cuident a estrous
Que mort soit Gadifer li vassaus aïrous.
Assés i ot de ceuls qui ont les ieux plorous
Et les cuers esfreés, pensis et dolerous.
La peüssiés vëoir mainte lance pertrous
Et maint bon chevalier gesir, l'iaume terrous.
Ferrant et son seignor ont li Grieu bien rescous
Et remis a cheval, dont il ert desirous.
Tout desfendant l'enmainent par mi .i. val herbous,
La traient a garant as destrois encombrous
N'en i veïssiés .i. de bien faire oublïous.

66 MONTÉS est Gadifer, mes il est molt bleciés
.iij. fois est si cheüs tous en est con brisiés,
Mes li siens grans corages n'est point asouploiés

64, 26. des lais. 36. Qua ual. **65, 17.** *ont*] on. **66, 3.** a souploies.

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That thai the best war vterly
That leuand war in this warld braid.
Great hatrent ather at vther had ;
Togidder thay smot quhill thair blasounis
Thay thirlit, bot thair habersounis
War sikker, stark and held richt weill.
Thair speiris war frushit euerilk deill.
With bodyis, shulderis and sheildis braid,
Sa outragious hurkling than thay maid
That thay that war by micht haue sene
Thir four ly flatlingis on the grene ;
And sa stoneist at eard thay lay
That thay wist nather of nicht nor day.
Quhan thay of Grece hes sene thame fall,
But dout, great radnes had thay all.
Emynedus regratit thay,
For thay wist, and he war away,
That thay of deid had na warrand.
Than thay that sorrowfull wer fleand,
In full great hy turnit agane
For to reskew thair capitane.
Emynedus the gude at neid
Was first vp and syne asked his steid,
And thay him brocht to him in hy,
And he lap on richt haistely.
Than war thay glaid, I tak on hand,
Quhan that thay saw thay had warrand.
GAVDIFEIR horsit was alsua.
His woundis bled that did him wa,
Bot he thame band full straitly,
And hint ane speir full sturdely,
And swore hiely be all that was
[He sould

2004. *thai*] than. 2015. L. *card.*

64, 20. Que. 21. H **om. line**. 22. sor les b. d. 23. iluec ne tant ne quant. 24. *estoient*] sunt **fort**. 25. *molt*] sunt. 26. lambleure. H m. leslais r. ; I m. a eslais poignant. 27. S. a. sen vont quil ni o. i. t. [Por cou froisent les lances que les fais orent grant]. 29. Q. l. b. froisierent q. s. dos dolifant. 30. T. lor g. escorcent. 31. *a or*] dor fin. 32. & r. li frontel si com v. b. 33. *la char*] H le cuir ; I les bras. H & l. car descirant. 34. Qui t. i. de l. vies l. sera mesparant. 35. estordis. *ot*] a. 36. Que a v. sunt l. quin des elmes enclinant. 37. N. a c. s. f. 38. *par*] a. 39. rien.

65, 3. M. n. d. ces ii. ci. 4. Qui. 5. H *om. line*. 6. d. ferir convoitous. 7. N. s. tous r. fiers & c. 8. *ert*] est. 10. es destrois p. 12. vigherous. 13. *ieux*] I vis. H q. en orent paours. 17. H ont l. Grijois r. 18. H *om. line*. I & lui m. a. c. 19. H *om. lines* 19-21.

66, 1. V **om. lines** 1-7. *est*] H fu. 3. H n. mie afebloies.

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Ençois vorroit miex estre as Grejois r'apuiés.
Par lui n'en ert .i. seus autrement maneciés,
Mes ses brans, se lui loist, i ert si emploiés
Que tous ert en cervele et en sanc touïlliés.
Ci refu li estors fierement conmenciés,
Molt i a des Gadrains malmis et empiriés,
Si les a a .i. poindre fierement angoissiés
Que, ferant, les enmaine tres qu'a .i. brueil plessiés.
Emenidus se r'est es estriers affichiés,
Tous premerains recuevre, sous l'escu enbuciés,
En sa main une lance dont le fust n'est pas viés.
.J. chevalier de Gadres feri tous desploiés
Qu'ambe .ij. les estriers li a tolu des piés,

66, 4. rapuis.

66, 4. H Ancois volra mult e. a G. acointies. 5. H a. enpiries; I a. araisnies. 6. *se lui loist*] H s. il puet. 8. HV Cel jor fu l. besoins. 9. *a*] HV ot. HV **Grijois.** 10. HV **Cil de Gadres les outrent** (V huent) **se sont si** (V sis ci) **esmaies.** 11. HV **emmainent.** H desi que as plaisies; I jusqua deus bos foillies; V ieske un broillez pleisez. [V **M'lt les vnt a cel poindre forment estotees** (*cp. l.* 10)]. 12. *For lines* 12 *and* 13 HIV *have one:* E. recuevre sor l. (I en lestor) e. 14. *sa*] V la. H E. s. m. tint le branc. HV d. l. fiers nert p. v. 15. H vet ferir eslaisies; V f. tot des prees. 16. H Que ans ij. l. e.

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He sould gar Gretians leif the place.
To thame the steid than strekit he,
And ane Gretian of great bounte
He smot sa stoutly that all dede
He fellit [him] flatlingis in that steid.
And quhan Emynedus that had sene,
He woxe thairat in spreit all tene
That Gaudifeir was sa cruell.
His gude steid steirit he out of staill,
And slew ane Gaderane with his speir.
Quha had bene thare micht haue sene neir
Ane richt great battell sikkerly.
King Alexanderis cumpany
Straik great straikis with brandis bair,
Bot thay war nocht euin bodin thair,
Thay of Gaderis war ten tymes ma,
Thairfoir on bak behuiffit thame ga.
THE bargane, suthly for to say,
Was stoutly begunin without affray.
The folk of Grece into great thrang
War set, for thay sa on thame dang,
And preissit thame sa outragiously,
That to ane shaw, was neir thairby,
And maugre thairis, thay thame dang.
Thay micht na wayis indure it lang,
That hard assay, for thay war thair
Stonyit, and that richt wonder sair.
Emynedus, at that mischeif hes sene
And sone enbraissit his sheild sa shene,
Ane stith spere into hand had he ;
Ane knicht of Gaderis of great bounte
He smot, till he his steropis tynt ;

[He

Lines 2038–52 *are not paralleled in our MSS.*

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Li agus de son hiaume est en terre fichiés ;
Et li Grieu lor guenchissent, les bruns elmes laciés.
Aridés de Valestre vait par l'estor iriés,
De la mort as Grejois li prist molt grans pitiés,
Si feri .i. Gadrain dont il fu apriviés
Que par desus le foie est li pignons baigniés ;
Mes .iij. contes le fierent de lor trenchans espiés,
Li dui en son escu et en l'auberc li tiers,
Sor l'archon daërrain en est tous enbrunciés.
Li chevaus s'agenoille, tant fu des cox chargiés ;
Mes par molt grant vertu s'est li vassaus dreciés,
O l'espée qu'il tint s'est si d'euls esmouchiés
Qu'il n'i ot si hardi ne li soit eslongiés.
De .ij. espiés tranchans fu si el cors plaiés

66, 25. derrain.

66, 17. HV e. ens el (V en un) pre f. 18. H & l. G. reguencirent. *bruns*] H vers. V Chascon des greus gwenchist de prouesce afiches. [V **Cil de gazres se tenent ki les ont acointe**]. HV **La peuiscies veir** (V Ilokes ueissez) **tant fors escus perciez & tant elmes fauser tant hauberc defroisies** (V & tant halbers faussez & tant ealmes brisez). **Des mors & des navres est li chemins joncies**]. 19. H **Aristes.** H vint. 20. V **om. line.** H fu mult forment iries (*cp. prec. line*). 21. *Si*] V &. H i. G. vet ferir. *fu*] H est. HV aprocies. 22. H e. li poumons trancies. 24. H en son hauberc l. t. 25. H de la siele ; V deireeint. H e. e. t. enbuscies ; I est li fers e. 26. *des*] V de. H car del fier f. c. ; I t. f. del cos c. 27. *vertu*] H corage. *sest*] H est. I est l. ber redrecie ; V s. li quons redrescez. 28. H est daus s. eslongies (*cp. next line*) ; IV s. s. d. acointies. 29. *ot*] H a. Hi qui nen fust esmaies. 30. *fu si*] V estoit. H Porquant s. est e. c. d. iii. espius p.

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He fellit him deid doun with that dint.
With that, all haill his cumpany
Turnit agane full sturdely,
And thay of Gaderis weill thame met,
That mony ane straik was sadly set,
And mony ane haubrek thirlit was.
With deid and woundit all the place
Was strouit, that it was pitie
That mekill martirdome to sie.

HEIR Arreste throw sare praying,
Went to warne Alexander the King.

Throw out the preis Areste raid,
And grete melle about him maid,
And of his fais ane smot thair,
That he his leuer in shunder share,
Sa that his speir in shunder brast
And he fell deid doun, bledand fast.
Bot thre earlis of great bounte
Attanis shot on Arreste.
The tane him shot on the blasoun,
The tother tua on his habersoun,
And, thocht he stout was and hardy,
Vpone his arsoun thay gart him ly.
His hors sa chargit was with the straik
That neir ane douncome can he maik,
Bot, throw his fors, with mekill pane,
Thay baith recouerit sone agane.
With his sword that sharpe was of steill,
Arreste him defendit weill,
That the best all abaissit was.
He was woundit in sindry place.

[The

2083. L. *three.*

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Des Grejois entour lui li prist molt grant pitiés ;
Bien voit, s'il n'ont secors, lor termes est jugiés.
Par lui ert Alixand' li mesages nonciés ;
De la presse se part qu'ains n'i out pris congiés,
Sovent pleure sous l'elme quant les siens a lessiés.
Cil de Gadres le voient, tienent s'a engingniés
Qui chaut que ja par home ne sera mes bailliés.

66, 36. saengingnies.

Lines 31–37 *are not rendered in the Scots.*

66, 30. [H Par desous lui estoient ses cevaus estancies
De iii. canes mult roides ot les troncons ficies
El crepon trait la siele dont mult fu corecies
Et ses escus meismes estoit tous depecies
Ens avoit v. troncons de iii. brans estecies
Les meures sunt el pis dont forment fu blecies
Sans bien voires ensegnes nest de lui camp widies].
31. H li est pris grans p. 32. H B. set H sor nes socort a la mort ert j. 33. H *places line* 33 *after line* 37. V *inverts lines* 33 *and* 34. 34. H D. lestor s. parti. H quant fu p. li c. ; V corescos & irez. 35. H S. p. des ious ; V Forment p. sor l. *a*] HV ot. 36. H t. por engignies ; V t. soi en gingnez. 37. H Que tant quant il per homme. V n. ateinz ne b.

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The gude Emynedus can sie
How douchtelly that Arreste,
With suord of steill, as douchty knicht,
Stonyit his fais into the ficht.
He sawe him bathit all in blude,
That stremand fra his woundis ȝude.
Throwout the preis to him com he,
And said, " A ! A ! gude Arreste,
Thir folk hes set vs hard this day,
And ȝe haue fundin be assay ;
In sindre place woundit ar ȝe,
All is bot blude that I can se.
Mene, gentill knicht, vpon ȝour hecht,
And se quhat way throw hard fecht
That all ȝour feiris demanit ar,
That sum ar deid, sum woundit sair,
And, duell the King, it may nocht fall
That ane eschaip quick, of vs all.
Thairfoir, shir, for ȝour great bounte,
Haif of thir folk reuth and pitie !
ȝe beir sik takinnis that the King
Sall se that it is na lesing,
Na ȝe sall neuer blamit be.
Nane laser mair to carpe haue we.
Bot speid ȝow in all that ȝe may ! "
Arreste said, " I sall, perfay,
For ȝow, and for the nobill King,
And for the point of perishing
I sie my fallowis halely,
This message perfurneis will I,
Gif God thairto will gif me grace,"
And with that word he left the place.

[Hilles

2103. Throwont.
2107. *place*] places.
2113. *nocht*] not.
2117. yat.
2126. *will*] weill will.

Lines 2097-2127 are not paralleled in our MSS.

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Par mi une montaigne s'en vait tous eslessiés,
Au devaler d'un tertre s'est en .i. val plongiés,
Tres qu'au treif Alixand' ne fu ses frains sachiés.
Ja dira tel parole dont li rois ert iriés.

67 LI rois et Tholomer et Danclins sont venu
D'un assaut merveilleus qu'a Tyr orent tenu,
Mes cil de la cité se sont bien deffendu.
Li rois devant son tref vit le més descendu ;
Molt resamble bien home de felon lieu issu ;
Vit sa lance froissie et percié son escu
Et son hiaume quassé, enbarré et fendu,
Et le vassal el cors outre en outre feru ;
Sous l'iaume le regarde, si l'a reconneü
Il le dut bien connoistre, c'uns des .xij. pers fu.
Il li a demandé : " Arides, dont viens tu ? "
Et cil li respont : " Sire, mal nous est avenu ;
Car secorés vos homes a force et a vertu !
El val de Josafaille sont tuit mort et vaincu.
Li dus Betis de Gadres nous a cest plet meü.
A bien .xxx. mil homes, nous sont devant venu.
Sanson le neveu Daire nous i ont mort rendu,

67, 8. *outre en*] tout outre en. 14. Josofaille.

66, 38. H senfuit.
[H Mult resamble bien homme qui destor soit cacies
Quar se lance est brisee & li brans enoscies
Et li vasaus meismes par mi le cort plaies].
39. *dun*] V del. H Par mi un pendant t. *sest*] H est. 40. H L. c. u il sist ; V L. c. ki lemporte. H a desronpu s. g. 41. H Jusqual t. A. H nest s. regnes s. ; V nert mes s. f. s. 42. V *om. line.* H d. l. r. nest p. l.
67, 1. V T. & D. & l. r. s. v. 2. *tenu*] H eu ; V rendu. 3. H *om. line. la cite*] V laienz. 5. H *om. line. resamble* V li semble. *issu*] V uenu. 6. H S. l. avoit brisie ; V V. s. l. brisee. H & mal mis s. e. [H Son escu detrancie & son hauberc ronpu]. 7. H Son elme detrancie si la bien conneu ; V & s. hauberc fause & son elme fendu. 8. H *om. lines* 8 *and* 9. V & l. v. meime par mi le c. f. 9. V Sor sun elme lesgarde. 10. *cuns*] H car. *des*] V de. 11. HV & li rois l. d. H **Ariste.** 12. HV & c. l. respondi. H sans nul autre seu. 13. HV Rois cor souscor tes h. 15. H a c. p. esmeu. 16. *A bien*] H Quar a. V Ou trente mile homes. H n. s. seure couru.

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Hillis na valeyis sparit he nane,
The narrest way to the King hes tane.
His hors forbure he in na thing,
Bot prikkit ay into ane ling,
Richt to the Kingis pauillioun.
Be he haue shewit his ressoun,
The King and all his barnie
Sall of thir tydingis sory be.
THE King, Dauclene and Tholomere
Fra ane great melly cummin were,
That thay forout the ȝet had maid;
Bot lytill winning thair thay had.
The King hes first sene Arreste.
Him semit weill ane man to be
That cummin was of ane felloun plais;
His gude sheild all to-frushit was,
His haubrek and his helme alsua,
And he bled fra the top to ta;
He was woundit in the body,
That wit ȝe weill, full cruelly,
And his hors hurt in sindrie place,
That couerit with blude and sweat all was.
The King knew it was Arreste,
"Quhence come ȝow, Arreste?" said he,
"Schir, fra the vale of Iosaphas,
Quhairin ȝour folk ane felloun cais
Is fallin thame, for the duke Betys,
With xxx thousand men of prys,
Hes us assailȝeit thus to-day,
And set ȝour folk in sic affray
That thay Sampsoun and Sabalor
Hes slane, and woundit Lycanor,

[And

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Et Licanor navré et Filote abatu,
Emenidon d'Arcage par mi le cors feru,
Pirrum mort son neveu, qui pau aura vescu,
Mes avant que je aie mon blanc hauberc tolu,
S'aurai je conme il sont en ce champ maintenu !
" Cil en fait bien a croire ! " dit Dauclins, " qu'il i fu."
" Voire," dist Tholomer, " il i a bien paru ! "
Lors regretent le conte Aristé et Caulu,
Et de Sanson de Perse sont forment irascu,
Et li rois Alixand' d'Emenidon son dru :
" Par foi," ce dit li rois, " or ai je molt perdu ! "
Il escrïe : Montés ! trop avons atendu.
Gardés que n'i remaigne ne jone ne chenu ! "
Aridés les en maine par mi .i. val herbu
Et par une montaingne dont li pui sont agu.

67, 26. *forment*] molt.

67, 18. *Filote*] H Calnu. 19. HV **om. lines 19 and 20.** 21. HV M. ancois q. j. a. cest b. (H mien) h. t. 22. H S. i com **lor est.** HV en lestour m. (H **avenu**). 23. H Cis f. auques a c. IV qui la f. 24. *il*] HV mult. *i*] V li. 25. *le conte*] H li Griu ; V li quons. *Ariste*] H **Perdicas.** 26. HV *invert lines* 26 *and* 27. H s. grain & i. ; IV s. forment i. 27. HV Emenidus. 28. V P. f. d. alix. *molt perdu*] H trop vescu. 29. V Puis. *montes*] H sensegne. H aves. V quauom nous a. 30. H G. q. tout me suient li i. & li c. 31. *en maine*] V enguie. H A. l. enmaine qui sist el bai crenu. 32. HV **El val de Josafas** (V iosafalle) **par** mi i. pre herbu (V delez un broil foillu).

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And Philot fellit and vther ma.
Bot it is pitie of tha tua,
And great dule to thair freindis ilkane,
For thay war nobill men of mane.
Succour thame sharpely, gentill King,
Or thay be all brocht to ending!
Speid ȝow, thairfoir, all that ȝe may,
For or my habersoun, perfay,
Or ony harnes, of me beis tane,
I sall wit how the gle is gane
With thame into that great melle!"
Than quod Dauclene, "sa God me se,
Be great ensinȝe it may be sene
That thow hes at the bargane bene!"
"It is suith!" said Tholomere.
Than menit thay on great manere
Perdicas, Caulus and Festoun;
And the gude duke Emynedoun
Than thay menit full tenderly;
For Sampsoun war thay all sory.
The King than smartly hes gart cry
That all sould fare delyuerly,
And on thair hors all hale lap thay;
And Arreste led thame on the way,
Towart the vale of Iosaphas.
Thair menȝe than sa stoutly was
At outragious mischeif fechtand
That thay withdrew thame to warrand
Ay quhan thair fais thame preissit sa
That thay na great fechting micht ma,
Bot alwayis gude Emynedoun
To all perrell can him bandoun,

[His

2165. L. *scharpely.* 2179. *Than*] That. L. *they.*
Lines 2186-2209 *are not paralleled in our MSS.*

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Fo. 31v.Ençois que cil de Gadres se soient perceü,
Lor sordent li Grejois qui molt sont irascu.
Tex a son escu sain, par tans l'aura fendu !

68 QUANT li Grejois connurent Alixand' d'Alier
Et la force des lor qui lor vienent aidier,
Il n'i ot si mauvés ne s'afiche el estrier.
A une part du champ se traient li forrier
Et virent lor bataille durement laidoier.
Quatre des .xij. pers virent deschevauchier,
Caulum et Aristé et Lïone le fier,
Antigonom de Grece qui molt fist a prisier.
Lor sont empris .j. poindre por lor gent rehetier.
La fist Emenidus a loi de boin guerrier
Que par mi lor esfort vait les lor detrenchier,
Ses conpaingnons delivre qui molt l'avoient chier.
Tost furent a cheval li .iij. prisonnier,
Molt bien entalenté de r anui vengier.
Li dus Betis regarde v les puis de Gibier,
Vit la force des Griex itre lui chevauchier.

67, 33. HV E. q. li Gadrain s. aperceu. 34. H L. salent l. G. parmi i. pre herbu. 35. *par tans*] HV qui ja.

68 [*In* H, *line* 1 *is preceded by* 44 *lines:* 'Quant li rois ot oi parler le mesagier' . . . 'Que nen sot mot Betis quant les vit desrengier' (Michelant, p. 152, l. 7—p. 153, l. 13): Alexander harangues his Knights, and vainly begs Aristé to remain behind because of his wounds).

1. V Q. l. gazrein alix. c. daabiler. 2. HV & le souscors d l. (H lost). H q. l. venoit a. 3. *ot*] Va. H Puis n. o. s. malade. HV destrier. [HV & sounerent lors cors (V Lors sonerent un grelle) por lor gent rallier]. 4. *se traient*] H estoient. 5. H V. l. conpagnons. HV forment estoutoier. 6. HV retenir & loiier (V lier). 7. *Aristé*] H Lincanor. 8. *molt fist*] H tant fait. 9. *sont empris*] H L. enprisent i. p.; V Lors l. donent i. p. HV p. l. pris essauucier (V enhaucer). 10. HV *om. ll.* 10-14. 15. H esgarde. V v. l. pleins dalier.

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His body and his nobill steid,
To help his feiris in that neid;
Delyuerit thame oft douchtely,
And comfort thame oft hardely,
To help quhan that he mister saw.
Bot thay behuffit thame withdraw
Quhen thai war preissit attour micht;
In this wise thai contenit the ficht
Ay quhill thai saw the nobill King
That sped him in thare succouring.
Richt weill him gydit Arreste,
And led him out throw ane vaillie
Sa that, or thay persauit war,
Thai to thare fais cummin ar.
Quha had ane scheild hale, may fall
That sone sall be to-fruschit all!
QVHEN thai of Grece hes sene the King
Cum sa stoutly in thare helping,
And saw thare succouris was sa neir,
Sa greatly than thai comfort war
That the worst of thare company
Strenȝeit in sterapis sturdely.
To reill thame ane horne thai blew,
And syne into ane sop thai drew.
Thare rout that tyme sa stonait was
That tane was hardy Perdicas,
Caulus and Lyonell alsua.
A point than peirtly can thai ma,
And sarely thare fais socht,
For thai wald venge thame gif thai mocht.
Betys beheld, and by ane hill
He saw than sturdely cum him till

[Alexander

2212,-20,-22 (*bis*). yai.
2215. *reill*] reull.
2218. predicas.
2220. *A point*] Apoint.
2221. yare.
2222. yame.
2224. yan.

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Alixand' meïsme ses batailles rengier,
L'enseigne desploïe venir el front premier.
Il a dit a ses homes : " Esgardés, chevalier !
Ce est l'ost Alixand' que veés aprochier,
Encui pense li rois molt forment gäaignier.
Gardés qu'a cest besoing soion felon et fier,
Et maintenons le chaple as espées d'acier,
Car ains mes ne trovames tel gent a acointier ! "

69 MIEUS vaut amis en voie que argens ne fins ors,
Bone chevalerie est molt riche tresors ;
Quant Alixand' vint, grans mestiers en ert lors.
Emenidus d'Arcage estoit ferus el cors,
Et Filote abatus, et navrés Licanors,
Et Caulus retenus, Aristés et Salors,
Et Sanses mors getés et li cuens Sabilors.
N'issoient mes du pas bruns ne baucens ne sors ;
S'auques targast li rois, ja preïst si mal mors
Que de lor .vij. cent homes n'en fussent .x. estors.
Lors josterent li Griu as Gadrains et as Mors.

68, 17. meismes. 21. En cui ; gaignier.

68, 17. *meisme*] H : V meime. V sa bataille renger. 18. *front*] H cief. [HV Ains (V **Vnc**) **puis ni ot parle de tenir prisonnier**]. 19. H & a d. as Gadrains e. mi **princier**. 20. HV **Ves** la gent A. H contre nous cevaucier ; V pres de nos a. 21. H sor nous a gaegner ; V f. a gaangner. 22. *qua*] HV quar. V **soies**. 23. H & gardons bien l. camp. 24. *Car ains*] H Onques ; V Conkes. V trouassent.

69, 1. *amis*] V argent. *uoie*] HV coite. HV n. or mier (*In* HV *this line figures as the last of the preceding* '*laisse*' (**68**). 2. V *om. line.* 3. HV Q **li rois** v. as Grius. H g. besoins estoit l. 4. *ferus*] HV navres. 6. H & C. ensement. 7. H Abilors. 8. *mes*] H pas. 9. H pris i eust tel m. 10. *lor*] H nos. H nen fust gaires e. ; V ni eust dis e. 11. H L. regretent l. G. le roi & ses esfors.

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Alexander and his barnie,
Him-self serryand his menȝe,
The baners in the front before,
That ay approched more and more.
Was nane of Gaderis than sa bald
That euer tuke tent presoner to hald.
" Lordingis," he said, " now may ȝe se
Alexander, with his barnie,
Cummin is to succour his furriouris,
And thinkis the worst part sall be ouris.
Bot luke ȝe stout and hardy be
For to mentene this great melle,
That we of purpose gar him faill ! "
With that, approchit the great battaill.
QVHAN the King come, without weir,
The furriouris hes full great mister,
For Lycanor, that was sa stout,
Was woundit throw the body out,
And the gude duke Emynedus
Woundit, and takin was Caulus,
And Sampsoun and Sabalor was slane ;
Lyoun and Perdicas als was tane,
And the riche duke Arreste
Was sair woundit with speiris thre,
As heir befoir to ȝow said I,
And all thair hors was [sa] weary
That few micht of ane pais gang.
Had the gude king duelt ocht lang,
Of seuin hundreth knichtis, perfay,
Thair sould nocht ten haue gane away.
With that, assemblit halelie
Of Grece and Gaderis the cheualry.

[Quhen

2226. *serryand*] ferryand and.
2227. *front*] brount.
2252. L. *King.*

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70 ILLEC ou li Grejois sont as Gadrains josté,
Veïssiés .i. estor molt felon et douté.
Durement i perdirent li coart desarmé.
Li rois point le cheval qui li cort de son gré,
Et mist lance sor feutre, s'a premerains josté.
Fiert Calot de Nubie, que il a encontré,
Entre les bras des boucles sont li escu troé,
Calot brise sa lance qu'iert de fresne plané,
Et li rois le fiert si que l'auberc a faussé,
Fer et fust et enseigne par mi le cors passé,
Et l'archon daärrain de la sele quassé.
Toute plaine sa lance, l'abat en mi le pré
Si que par mi le cors l'en a outre enserré,
Puis crïe " Macedoine ! " s'a le branc recouvré,
Et feri Galïon, .i. duc de Gelboé,
Par desous la mamele li a le pis copé.
Li dus Betis l'esgarde, si a le chief crollé,
Et dit : " Se cist vit longues, malement ai erré ! "
Il et .v. chevalier sont cele part torné,
Et li .iiij. le fierent en son escu bouclé,
Et li quins de sor l'iaume, que tot l'ot estonné ;
Par desor Bucifal ont le roi enversé.
A la rescousse poingnent Danclins et Tholomé,
Et ont en lor conpaigne maint chevalier armé.
La veïssiés des brans maint pesant cop doné ;
Au chaple des espées sont li Grejois outré.
Cil de Gadres s'esmaient et sont tuit reüsé.

70, 8. *quiert*] qui ert. 10. *le*] li.

70, 1. *greiois*] V gazrein. *Gadrains*] V grezois. H melle. 2. *molt felon*] H perilleus. 3. H Forment i ont perdu ; V D. i feroient. HV l. hardi d. 4. HV L. r. p. **Bucifal**. H des **esporons** dore. 5. H met. V & m. la l. el feutre. H si a premiers i. ; V s. as primes i. 6. H Colas. H qui li fu e. ; V si cū la e. 7. V Quentre. H Si que parmi le boucle. H tece. [V & li cheual sor els detres a q'trone]. 8. H Colas brisa s. l. H o le f. p. ; V kert d. f. p. 9. H Mais l. r. l. feri qui l. a f. 10. H Fust & f. & pignon. H boute. 11. V *om. line*. H & l. d. l. s. par deriere troe. 12. H lenporte. 13. *Si que*] H & tres. H a le tiere est ale ; V la en tere e. 14. H entese. 15. V calion. *Gelboe*] V baloe. H & va ferir Galafre i. d. d. grant fierte. 16. V desuz. H Desi que es espaules la fendu & e. 17. H le voit. 18. H ouvre. 19. H ale. 20. HV L. iiij. l. ferirent. H desur lescu b. 21. V & l. q. s. son helme. *lot*] HV la. 22. H Deseure B. ; V Que d B. *ont*] V a. 23. HV Es vous a l. r. Clincon (V cliscon) & T. 24. *maint*] H m. H chevaliers. 25. H **veist on**. HV m. (H tant) ruste c. d. [H Tant puig & tante teste **de chevalier** cope]. 26. H *om. lines* 26 *and* 27. 27. V reu'se.

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QVHAN thay of Grece assemblit ware,
Ane fell fechting might men sie thair,
And armit men that war hardy
The bargane all to deir sal by.
The King with spurris smait Burssiuell,
And sturdely, befoir his battell
Sa hard he smot Caliot of Nuby
That top our taill he gart him ly,
Woundit throw-out the body quite,
His haubrek helpit him nocht ane myte.
Than " Massidone ! " loud can he cry,
And drew his sword delyuerly,
And smot sa sturdelly Caleoun,
That to the breist he share him doun.
The duke Betys the King hes sene,
And shuke his heid for proper tene,
And said, " gif ȝon King leifis ocht lang,
He sall me set in mekill thrang ! "
With that word, he and knichtis fyue
Rushit vpone the King belyue ;
Four on the sheild him smot stoutly,
And tua on the helme full besily.
He held him-selfe vpone Bursiuell.
With that, dicht in thair apparell,
The gude Dauclene come and Tholomeir,
And mony douchty bachleir
Come to reskew the nobill King.
Thair men micht sie [ane] fell fechting,
And mony dintis baith geuin and tane,
And gude knichtis to ground be gane.
The Gretians faucht sa feill thare
That thay of Gaderis rushit ware,

[And

2258,-84. *fell*] fele. 2260. *sal by*] salby. 2279. bursiuell.
2259. *Ana*] All. 2265. L. *throwout*.

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Li dus vit le meschief, si a son frain tiré.

72 EL chief de la montaigne s'arrestent li Gadrain.
Li tertre furent haut, li vassal sont soutain,
Ne criement fors de hors a l'entrée d'un plain.
Fo. 88. Illeques s'arresterent ; li meillor premerain
Devant vausissent estre, tel furent daärrain ;
Tés i va por joster qui change son lorain.
As dars et as sajetes i traient li conmain,
Si perdent li Grejois qui de joster ont fain,
Des chevaux et des vies i perdent li prochain
Durement se conbatent el val de Josafain ;
Onques ne esgardastes cerf ne chevrel ne dain
Si tost corut par lande con Danclins fait par plain,
Fiert Nasel de Saloie de la terre au soutain,
Merveilleus cox se donent, car il murent lontain,
Li escu de lor cox ne lor valent .i. pain,
Par mi toutes lor armes fausserent li clavain.
Danclins brise sa lance, le trons tint en sa main,
Au torner de sa jouste ne sembla pas villain,
Si grant cop li dona desus son hiaume a plain
Sour l'arçon l'adenta, tout estordi et vain,
De joste lui s'acoste, sel saisi par le frain,
Autresi pris l'enmaine con l'ostoirs fait l'aubain,
Et dit a Alixand' : " Cest prison vous amain ! "
Li rois de Macedoine le prist par le chanfrain,
Aprés le conmanda Medor et Galëain,
A .ij. barons de Grece qui sont frere germain.

73 AMOLT grant seürtance torna li dus Betis
Quant en tel fermeté se sont entré et mis
Ou ja ne perdront gaires par home qui soit vis,
Mes de Nasal le conte sont dolent, qui fu pris,
Et s'il quite l'enmainent, il n'est pas ses amis.
Il point le vair destrier, si s'est fors au plain mis,
Et vit en sa bataille tex .iiij. cens de pris

72, 2. *li*] & li. 5. darrain. 20. dadenta. **73, 1.** *A molt*] Molt.

70, 28. H L. d. Betis l. v. s. a s. cief crole (*cp. line* 17) [H Por cou quil le vit sen fu forment aire].

72. '*Laisses*' **72, 73, 74,** *and* **76,** *absent in* V, *occur in* H, *with the following variants :* 1. *de la*] dune. monterent. 2. H *om. line.* 3. N. c. que devant. 4. I. aresterent **tout l. plus daerain.** 5. H *om. line.* 6. *ua*] muet. 7. A. ars a. sajetaires que cil t. certain. 8. Perdirent l. G. q. d. j. sunt vain. 9. Les c. & les v. perdirent l. p. 10. *Iosafain*] de jouste Ain. 11. Mais o. n. veistes. 12. *corut*] corre. Clincons. 13. H *om. line.* 14. *il*] mult. 15. *lor cox*] son col. n. li valu i. p. 16. *lor*] les. lorain. 17. Clincons. 18. H *om. line.* 19. sor lelme

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And thame withdrew with great affray;
Bot at ane hill recouerit thay.
THE duke, with mony gude Gaderane
At ane hill syde he turnit agane.
The best hindmaist ay abaid
To stint thair fais that formest raid.
The folk of Grece that formest ware,
Than with arrowis war woundit sair,
Sa that thay tint at that preking,
Sum hors, [and] sum weill darrar thing.
Than Dauclene, that was gude at neid,
Come prekand on ane staluart steid;
And sa straitly struke Arundale,
That of the dukes hoist all hale
Was constabill and cheif ledere,
That on him he brak his spere
And sa stoneist him with that strake
That in that stede he can him take,
And he taucht him thair to the King.
The King him gaif into keping
To tua barrounis of Grece richt thar,
That of great strenth and worship war.
AT ane strenth thus turnis Betys,
With mony men of mekill pryse,
And thinkis to defend him sa
That he nouther skaith sall do nor sa.
Bot of his Constabill that was
Takin, in hart richt wa he was,
And thocht to get him sone agane;
Bot all that wening was in vane.
With that, he prekkit furth in the preis,
And couerit with his sheild he was;

[His

2295. L. *were.* 2296. *Than*] Thar. 2309. *thar*] than. 2310. *war*] wan.

Castelain. 20. Que trestout ladenta sor larcon premerain. 21. D. j. sacosta & met la main au f. 22. c. li ostoirs l. 23. H *om. line.* 24. *li prist*] ne rent. 25. *For lines* 25-26 H *has:*

Alixandre le balle i. cevalier Glarain
& cil li done ostage de m. mars el demain.

73, 1. A grande s. 2. Cor e. t. seurte est il hui entremis. 3. Hui mais n. perdera por h. q. s. v. 4. H *places line* 4 *after line* 8. Vasart. *sont*] fu. kil. 5. H om. line. 6. *Il*] &. *sest*] est. 7. & ot e. s. conpagne. *cens*] m.

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N'en i a .i. tout seul ne soit d'armes penis.
Et li dus vait devant, de bien faire pensis,
Molt gentiment l'emporte li vairs destriers de pris
Assés en petit d'eure sera de lui eschis
Par .i. baron de Grece fu puis le jor conquis,
Tholomer l'en mena, ses morteus anemis,
S'en abati le duc, voiant .vij. mile Gris
Que ses hiaumes a or en fu en terre mis,
Et ses escus bouclés empiriés et malmis,
Et hurterent en terre toutes les flors de lis,
Puis l'en mena o lui en maint lontain paijs.
Li rois de Macedoine l'ot le jor, ce m'est vis,
Que il fist la bataille ou Porus fu ocis.

74 MOLT fu grans la bataille par les plains d'Orïus,
Et li estors molt fiers ou li dus fu cheüs.
Bilas .i. cuens de Perse point, et Elïagus,
Mades li orgueilleus et Quarrans de Lenrus,
Gadifer des Laris li vassaus cogneüs.
Desus lui s'arresterent et traient lor brans nus,
Por le duc redrecier i ot maint cop ferus,
Mes ains qu'il puist monter, fu si forment batus.
Par le champ vint poignant Aristés et Caulus,
Dui des barons de Grece qu'il ot le jor tenus,
Des chevaux le hurterent si qu'il n'est abatus.
De sor lui fu li chaples as brans d'acier molus,
Les espées tentissent sor les elmes agus.
A force est remontés, mes les las ot rompus.
Mirmigales d'Aufrique lor a dit tex salus :
" Or penst chascuns de soi que li chans est vaincus !
Au poindre premerain cherra nostre vertus !
Certes je vorroie estre en ma maison tous nus ! "
Et li dus li respont, qui molt fu irascus :

73, 10. *lemporte*] le reporte. 14. *mile*] mil.

73, 8. Que bien i a i. s. n. s. d. eslis. 9. L. d. Betis envait. 10. Mult jentilment lenporte l. v. cevaus braidis. 11. A. e. poi d. terme s. d. l. partis. 12. f. il cel j. c. 14. & fiert l. d. Betis v. ijm. G.
[Que del ceval lemporte sa les arcons guerpis
Tant roidement labat en mi le plaseis.]
15. *en terre mis*] tous entieris. 16. H *om. line.* 17. & cairent a val l. blances f. d. l. [**Par les regnes a or fu li cevaus saisis.**] 18. *Puis*] &. *maint*] i. 20. En icelle b. [& apries le douna Dans Calnu Menalis.]
74, 1. M. f. g. li estors ens es cans Dorius. 2. *molt fiers*] mortes. 3. Dalis i. c. d. P. i p. tous irascus. 4. & Natans lorguillous & Carans d. Lilus. 5. *In place of line* 5 H *has :*
Que li nies au roi Daire qui ot non Calebrus
& ot en lor conpagne bien iiiim. escus.
6. Deseure l. arestens & t. les b. n. 7. P. l. d. retenir i fu mains cos f. 8. M. ne pot remonter car trop estoit b.

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His staluart speir he stithly straucht,
As man that was of mekill maucht.
Aganes him lansit Tholomeir,
Full sturdelly streikand his speir.
Thay smot togidder as tempest,
The dukes speir in shunder brast,
Bot Tholomeir hes hit him sua
That to the ground he gart him ga,
All desy of that heauy dint;
Syne by the renȝe he hes him hint,
And, efter, in mony seir countre,
That nobill steid with him had he.
The King was horsit on him that day
Quhilk Porrus slew, as I hard say.
THE fecht was fell, and great the preis
Quhair the duke Betys fallin wes.
The Gretianis preissit him fast to ta,
Bot he defendit with sword sa
That he, throw great help of his men,
Was reskewit and helpit then;
Bot that was with full mekill pane,
For he had fele folk him agane.
Guy Marmaduke of Affrike
Said him, "certis this is weill like
That all the war sall ouris be!
I wald be naked in my countre
And all wer tint that heir haue I!
Alexander and his cumpany
Heir I forsaik for euermair!"
The duke, that was bauld as bair,
Said to him with ane wraith sembland,
"Thow art war nor recryand,

[Na

2352. *nor*] L. *not*.

[De troncons & despees que tous en fu confus
i. ceval li amaine qui fu baucans crenus
Li dus se prent au frain al ceval est venus
Mais ancois quil i monte li sera cier vendus.]

9. P. lestor vait p. A. & Caunus. 10. *Grece*] lost. que li rois aime plus. [& ki le jor avoient le duc pris & tenu.] 11. Del ceval l. h. s. q. lont abatu. 12. D. s. le duc Betis f. l. c. tenus. 13. Branc dacier retentisent s. ces e. a. 14. H *om. line.* 15. Ginohoces d. l. rendi t. s. [Dont tous li plus hardis fu mas & esperdus.] 16. *que*] car. 17. As premeraines joustes cairont ja nos v. 18. H *om. line.* 19. q. ne f. mie mus. 20. *For line* 20 H *has two:*

Ja Damel Deu ne place que en soies c.
Certes vus estes pire que en camp recreus

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" Jamés en boine court ne dois estre creüs ! "

76 GADIFER vit les Griex et le roi engramir
Et d'euls torner de place durement aätir.
Or lor veulent a force la montaigne tolir,
Mes ja tant conme il puist les destrois maintenir,
N'a talent qu'il s'en voist, que molt het le foïr.
Clitons li fis Caduit, qui les rens fait fremir,
Vit devant tous les autres a esperon venir.
Li chevaus desous lui fait le champ retentir,
Et pierres et chailleux de cler feu resplendir.
Gadifer, qui bien sot .i. chevalier ferir,
Se lesse sormonter et lui outre bruïr,
Et quant le vit en forme qu'il ne s'en pot partir,
Dont li lesse cheval, lance et escu guenchir,
Devers destre le prent qu'il ne volt pas norrir ;
Or sera molt dolens se lui covient faillir.
Le blanc hauberc du dos fait rompre et desartir,
Entre le gros des costes fait fer et fust sentir,
Du bon cheval le porte jus par si grant aïr
Que l'eaume hurte en terre qu'il l'a fait rebondir,
Tost li tolt le parler, le vëoir et l'oïr
Et fait le sanc par nés et par bouche saillir.
Entr'eus vait le cheval parfondement saisir,
Onques ne volt sa lance ne geter ne guerpir,
La resne mist el brach, si' s'en vait a loisir,
Car li Grieu s'arresterent, qui getent maint sopir
Et cuident de Cliton que il doie fenir.
Parole li revient, les ieus prist a ouvrir ;
Tholomer, qui ploroit si qu'il l'estut tenir,
Li demande : " Conpains, em porrois vous garir ? "
Cil fu de grant corage, ne se volt asouplir

76, 5. senuoist. 15. *sa lui*] celui.

76, 1. *les Griex & le roi*] l. r. & l. G. 2. & detorner de p. 3. Bien l. quident par f. l. grant **plagne** t. 4. *conme*] que. le destroit. 5. Nen partira sil puet car t. h. l. f. 6. Calduit. 7. *tous les autres*] l. Grijois. esporons. 8. f. la tiere tentir. 9. Des c. & des p. le c. f. r. 11. Le. *bruir*] bondir. 12. *vit*] voit. que n. p. pas guencir. 13. Lors. guerpir. 14. ne vot p. mesfalir. 15. Ains s. condolant sil nel puet consiuir. [Tant com li bais lemporte ala Clincon ferir.] 16. Que lauberc de son d. 17. Desous le grose coste fuste & acier s. 18. Q. del c. lenporte p. s. tres g. a. 19. Q. le quin de son elme fait en tiere ferir. 21. & p. b. & p. n. li f. l. s. salir. 22. *cheual*] destrier. 23. H *inverts lines* 23 *and* 24. O. ni v. escu n. le l. saisir. 24. Les regnes met es bras. 25. q. si font grant sospir. 26. Por Clincon quil quidoient **qui lues** deust f. 27. H *places line* 27 *after line* 29. 28. Tholomes fet tel noise que il l. t. 29. & l. a dit c. pores vus ent g. 30. Il est d. fier c.

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Na ȝe aucht neuer in court to be
Honorit, for the great mauite."
GAVDIFEIR saw the nobill King
Preis his men throw hard fechting
To put duke Betys to the plane,
And, throw force of thare mekill mane,
To reif him the strenth of the hill,
Bot sickerly he hes na will
For dout of deid to leif the feild,
Quhill he him on his hors micht weild.
Before his feris he saw prekand
Dauclyne stoutly, with spere in hand,
And Gaudifere, that was witty,
Leit him sydlingis pas him by;
And quhen he saw his point that tyde,
He socht vpon him at ane syde.
He bare him doun with sa great micht
That he baith tint hearing and sicht,
At neis and mouth out dushit the blude.
The staluart steid that by him stude,
Be the gilt renȝe hint Gaudifeir,
Bot he kest nocht away his speir;
The renȝe on his arme can sleif,
Syne went agane withouttin leif.
He was not preissit than greatly,
For thay of Grece affrayitly
Arestit thame with siching sair.
Thay wenit Dauclene sould die richt thair.
Bot strenth come to him sone agane;
He lukit vp with mekill pane,
For he was of full great courage,
He wald na wise that the barnage

[Of

2365. gaudifere. 2373. *hint*] him hint.

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Le roi ne ses barons por soi faire amornir :
" Amenés moi cheval," fait il, " que molt desir
A encontrer celui qui ci m'a fait gesir,
Ains de moi, se Diex plaist, verrois autre morir ! "

78 LI dus vit Alixand' qui a lui s'est mellés,
Il en a plus de .vij. par terre craventés,
Les grans presses desront que de ce ert fiertés,
Il ne fiert chevalier qui molt ne soit grevés.
Il en a ses barons doucement apelés,
Si lor a dit : " Seignors, .i. petit m'entendés !
Je vous ai tous norris et chierement amés,
Et mes avoirs promis et volentiers donnés
Grans biens, fais au besoing, doit estre reprovés.
Se preudons le reçoit, tost est guerredonés.
D'un afaire vous pri qu'a raison entendés :
Cis noviaus rois de Grece nous cuide avoir trovés !
Au samblant que il fait est il fols ou dervés
Ou trop outrecuidiés, si com vëoir poés !
De mes homes qu'a mors, sui forment adolés.
Dire puet c'or lor sui trop mauvés avoés ;
Je serai mors de duel s'il n'est bien encontrés !
Certes, miex en voel estre par mi le cors navrés,
Ou pris ou retenus ou du tout affolés,
C'or ne soit atendus de tant d'ommes armés
Que il soit mors ou pris, tant soit bien encontrés.
En tant riches besoins ai esté esprouvés
Ne partirai de l'ost, si ere o lui jostés.
S'il est ore a cest poindre .i. petit reboutés,
Tost nous cherroit, ce cuit, .i. point plus en nos dés,
Et reseroit li vers en autre fueil tournés,
Car puis qu'en fais s'esmaie, a paine est retornés.
Fo. 88. Plus dout je les fourriers que les autres assés,

78, 23. *lost*] cest ost.

76, 31. Ne n. vot les b. p. lui plus engramir [Ains sescria en haut por les Grius esbaudir]. 32. Ramenes mon c. f. i. q. d. trop d. 33. C. ai encontre q. si m. f. jesir. 34. S. Deu plest a. d. m. veres autrui finir.

[i. **ceval li amainent bien se pot aatir**
Que il not plus isnel en lempire de Tyr
V cil i monta tost qui fera son cair
Cierement conparer ains quil doie anuitir.]

78, 1. Betis v. A. q. as siens est m. 2. Ja. *par*] a. 3. Le grant prese desronpre a son branc acere. 4. *Il*] &. q. n. soit afoles. 5. H *om. line.* 6. Signor ce d. Betis. 7. servis & ounores. 8. & p. m. a. & ricement d. 9. Ens bienfais a. b. 11. que r. esgardes. 13. *ou*] &. 14. & est o. & trop desmesures [Par force quide avoir & castiaus & cites]. 15. aires. 16. D. pueent ce s. 17. Ja erent m. d. d. se

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Of Grece for him annoyit ware.
On fute sone is he gottin thare,
And asked hors in full great hy,
For he said he had great inuy
To mete him that him fellit hade,
And thay him horsit but mair abade.
THE duke hes sene the nobill King
Enforce him sa in the fechting
That he bair doun weill aucht or ma.
The thik preis he out thirlit sa
He met na knicht that he ouer-take,
Na he all desy can him make.
THE gude duke callit his men preuie,
And said, " Lordingis, now may ȝe sie
That ȝon proud King wenes richt weill
To ding vs all to deid ilk deill.
He fairis as he war fule or wode,
Or ellis our succodrous in mode.
He slayis my men throw strenth of hand.
Thay may say I am euill warrand
To thame that he defoullis sua,
Bot I die with dule and wa,
Bot he stoutly contraryed be!
Micht we him rusche, ȝe suld sone se,
Abak a lytill, at the dys
Suld changit be on vther wys
For, fra ane child be ston[a]yit,
He sal be thairof sa mismayit
That all his gude deid sal be done,
For ȝoung pryde is stanshit sone.
I dout the furriouris far mair
Than all the laif that leuand air,

[For

2394. thirlir.
2395. *na*] ane.
2409. *Abak*] Ane bak.
2412. *mismayit*] mispayit.
For] *The catch-word is absent.*
2412,-13. salbe.

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b. n. e. 18. *en voel*] volroie. 19. *ou* (ter)] &. [Que li fius Felippon soit de nous si doutes.] 20. *domes*] rices. 21. H *om. line.* 23. Ains que par ce deceus serai o. l. j. 24. reuses. 25. T. n. c. as autres plus de poins e. i. d. 26. & r. l. jus e. a. point t. 27. P. que **enfes** s. a p. ert r. **[De l. jouenes orgius ert tos anientes.]**

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Car c'est la flor de Grece et de tous les miex nés,
Des plus eslis par armes, des miex enparentés ;
Et cil Emenidus qui les a amenés,
Il n'est outrecuidiés ne trop desmesurés,
Mes francs et deboinaires et molt bien atemprés,
Et chevaliers si bons, com vous bien le savés,
Se nous ne le disons, sel savons nous assés !
Tex .xx. mil homes a ses nons espoëntés
C'onques ne fu encor de lor ieus esgardés.
Ne m'aime pas, ce sai ; mes par moi n'ert blasmés,
Car chevaliers ver lui ne doit estre loés.
Ains quel voiés conquis, ert si chier conperés
Que lonc tans en sera li damages plorés ;
Mes ce me reconforte qu'il est molt esgenés.
Par merveilleus esfors est ses escus portés.
Sachiés que de haut cuer li vient si grant bontés ! "
Atant broche li dus et vient tous desreés,
Envers le duc s'adrece, sous son elme enclinés.
Tholomer vint aprés qui molt est redoutés,
Et Danclins ses conpains, qui du roi est amés,
Et li baron de l'ost qu'Alixand' ot chasés.
La ot maint confanon desploijé et mostrés
Et blans haubers treslis menuëment safrés,
Et mains elmes brunis diversement semés,
Chieres reconnissances et pignonciaus fresés.
Bien vienent conme gens plaine de grans fiertés,
De toutes pars du roi s'acoste li barnés,
Mes or sache Alixand', et si est verités,
Qu'il n'iert mie a cest poindre des Gadrains refusés !
Li dus r'est de ses homes molt bien asseürés
Ja ne fuiront por mort .iiij. piés mesurés
S'ilençois ne lor dit, teux est lor volentés,
Qu'a garison se traie, quar trop est agrevés ;
S'il primes ne s'en vait, ja n'en ert dos tornés.
Ains les encontre bien, qu'il n'ert pas esfraés,
Tous les vit de bien faire garnis et aprestés.
Au soleil resplendist des armes la clartés,
Es vous les .ij. orguels illec entre-hurtés !
Ains n'i fu chevaliers par autre araisonés,
Par bouche maneciés, ne d'ome ramprosnés.
Entre-ferir se vont, nus n'i est arrestés.
Que d'une part que d'autre, en i ot de versés ;
Tex i cheï le jor, puis n'en fu relevés.
Qui vit en cel estor les grans cops presentés,
Et les escus perciés et les haubers faussés,
Et les heaumes trenchiés et les escus troés,
Et les brans nus hoschiés et tous ensanglentés,
Et chevaliers plaijés et tous esboülés,
Et par terre gesir les mors et les navrés,
Bien pot dire por voir qui en fu eschapés,
Que, ains puis icele heure que Adam fu formés,
Ne fu fais tex encontres, ne dis, ne racontés !

78, 37. en cor. 51. *Et blans*] Blans. 59. fuieront.

78, 29. *Grece*] lost. sacies par verite. 30. H *om. line.* 32. *ne*] &. 33. M. mult f. & mult prous. 34. & sest b. c. c. veir l. poes. 35. H

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For thay of Grece ar haill the flour,
And maist prysit of hie honour,
And ȝon Emynedus thair ledar,
That is weill tempered in peax and war,
And sa gude knicht, as ȝe ma se—
Thocht we na wald, sa will it be—
He hes stonyit sic vii. thousand
That saw him neuer, I tak on hand.
He luifis me nocht, that wele I wait ;
Bot I may tak him be na gait.
Thair is na knicht may be his peir."
With that, the King and Tholomeir
War reddy for to do vassalage,
And Dauclene and the great barnage
Of Grece com prikkand in great hy,
And Betys met thame sturdely
In gude couen with his menȝe
To do worship throw thair bounte.
Agane the Sone thair sheildis shane,
Manance nor flyting was thair nane,
Bot with speiris and brand[i]s bair
Sa fast thay frushit ilkane thair
That fele war feld with rashes, ȝit
Men micht sie thair ly vnder-feit
Of dede and woundit grit plentie.
Quha had sene in that great melle
The heuy dintis to gif and taik,
Scheildis to frushe and shaftis to shaik,
And pryde stoutly counter pryde,
Men micht say suirly at that tyde
Thair was ane felloun fechting thair,
And ay enforsit mair and mair.

[Emynedvs

2429. *vasselage*] vasselege.
2442. L. *grit*.
2443. *heuy*] L. *hauy*. *The letter is broken ; it might be read as* a *or* e.

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om. lines 35-37. 38. Encor n. nous art il ja p. nous n. b. 39. Quar n. d. c. e. avant l. l. 40. Ancois quil soit c. sera s. c. 41. Q. lonjement e. iert. 42. Ce nest mie mervelle sil e. auques doutes. 44. fiertes [Sil est dun roit espiel parmi le cors navres]. 45. A. es vus le roi venu t. d. 46. Lescu par les enarmes en lauberc aclines. 47. *For lines* 47 *and* 48 H *has one:* & T. a. & Clincon desrees. 49. & tous les autres Grieux que li rois o. cases. 50. *ot*] fu. 51. & mains aubers doubliers [& mains rices escus dor & dargent listes]. 52. menuement iesmes [H *intercalates here its version of line* 75]. 53. fremes. 54. H *om. line.* 55. *li*] ses. 56. li rois. *si*] ce. 57. *niert*] nest. 58. Betis est d. s. h. 59. Cuns nen fuira de camp. 60. Se cou e. la verites. 61. traient. que t. soient greves. 62. H *om. lines* 62-65. 66. a i. caple ajoustes [Des escus & de (? des) armes i fu grande clartes]. 67. La ne f. c. p. a. ranprones (*cp. next line*). 68. ne dautrui desfies. 69. H *om. lines* 69-71. 72. Mains rices c. i fu ferus & p. 73. *les* (bis)] mains. 74. H *om. line.* 75. & mains b. enocies & frais & troncones (*occurs also as extra line after line* 52). 76. H *om. line.* 77. **Li cemin sunt joncie** des m. & des. n. 78. D. peust p. v. q. fust diluec tornes. 79. Conques p. icel jor. 80. N. f. si biaus e. veus ni esgardes.

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79 EMENIDUS esgarde le grant enconbrement
Que Betis lor a fait si trés hardïement,
Vit la force des Griex qui si bruit et destent,
Et se fierent entr'eus sans espoëntement.
Alixand' premiers qui ne vint mïe lent,
Et Tholomer aprés qui bien quite li rent,
Et Danclins et li autres i fierent durement.
Nus n'i pot cop donner n'i reçoive ensement,
Car Betis les encontre, qui ne vient faintement.
Ains n'i ot fait samblant de nul faintissement,
Entre-ferir se vont sans nul arrestement ;
Que d'une part que d'autre, chïent espessement.
Liés fu Emenidus, si s'en rit bonement
Por ice que Betis ainsi bien se desfent,
Car or sauront li Grieu auques de lor covent !
Hui les orent tenus a destroit jugement
Quant il vers l'ost de Grece quierent desfendement.
Et meïsmes li rois se contient fierement,
Ses conpaignons apele, si lor dit doucement :
" Molt avés hui soffert de paine et de torment.
Vous estes tuit navré, chascuns grant dolor sent,
Mes cil pert son bien fait qu'a la fin se repent.

79, 10. *fait*] *supplied.*

79, 1. *grant*] fier. 2. *si tres*] isi. 3. *Vit*] &. q. se b. & estent. 4. Tout s. f. en aus. 5. Li rois tous premerains. *vint*] va. 6. H *places line* 6 *after line* 10. q. ne va mie lent (*cp. prec. line*). 7. Clincons & tous l. a. 8. Mais nus n. done cos ne recoit e. 9. mult aireement. 10. & n. a fait s. 11. H *om. line.* 12. *Que* (bis)] &. 13. E. darcade en a vis (? ris) b. 14. isi b. les enprent. 15. [**Si fisent as fouriers itel acointement**]. 16. Quant l. o. enclos al d. j. 17. Encontre l. d. G. qui est esforcement. 18. encontre durement. 19. boinement. 20. & este en t. 21. *Vous*] &. 22. C. p. tout s. bienfait qui en f. s. r.

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EMYNEDVS hes sene Betys,
With his gude men greatly to prys,
Sa hardely counter the King
And make him cruell ganestanding,
As he stude of thame lytill aw.
The enforce of Grece he saw
Geuand and takand mony rout,
The King befoir thame, that was stout,
Dauclene and Tholomeir him by.
Thar straik nane, wit ȝe witterly,
That he na agane can straikis ta.
Betys hes thame incounterit sa,
For he was douchty at deuyse,
And na semblance maid of cowardyse.
Sa fast ather on vther dang
That mony ane to eard can gang.
Emynedus than leuch blythly,
For that Betys sa manfully
Ressauit the King in his cumming.
Now man ȝe wit of thair trowing
Quhidder the furriouris that day
War oft set on hard assay,
Quhan thay agane the Kingis micht
Makis defence into the ficht,
And metis him sa hardelly.
Than to his feiris he said in hy,
" This day richt far ȝe trauellit are,
And ar weary and woundit sair,
Bot he tynes his mekill prys
That at the end dois fantys.
Quha dois best at the ending,
Thay haue pryse and maist louing.

[Bot

2458. *Thar*] That. *Minuscule at line* 2470.

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S'or ne vous contenés devant ceux vivement
Qui sont venu tuit frés de lor embuschement
Ne sevent le covine de nostre asamblement,
A euls treront le pris del envaïssement.
Qui daärrains fait bien, si l'emporte sovent,
Mes au partir verrons, se Dieus le nous consent,
Li quel tenroient miex .i. dur tornoiëment :
Ou nous ou li novel qui vienent freschement?
Tholomer n'a encor le pelichon sanglent,
Ne li chevaus Cliton de corre .i. poil sullent !
Enque nuit en prés vin, si diroit coiëment
Qu'il nous ont tous resqueus de mort et de torment,
Et de nostre bien faire n'iert parlé de noient !
Se ainsi lor soufrons, nous en serons dolent.
Et je lor ferai ja certain connoissement
Fo. 88v. Que sui Emenidus, qui toute l'ost apent
A mener et a duire desor estrange gent
Si que j'en ai du roi don et otroiëment.
Ensi porroit l'en dire mauvestié me sorprent.
Ja m'ame au darrain jor n'ait bien, ne sauvement,
Ne la joie du ciel que maint preudons atent,
Se je ne lor fai ja si bel demostrement
Cognoistre me porront sans autre enseignement !
Ha ! Ferrant ! qu'en ferois ? J'en ai si bon talent !
Envïe de bien faïre et fierté m'en sorprent.
Molt vous ai hui pené, ains ne vous trovai lent !
Se vous or me failliés, molt aurai mal talent ! "
Lors embrace l'escu par l'enarme le prent,
Des esperons le hurte, cil tressaut durement,
De terre le trescort en poi d'eure .i. arpent.
Ne se tenist a lui li bruns de Bonivent
Que Tholomer prisoit .c. mile mars d'argent.
Ja i fera tel chose par le mien escïent,
Et l'estoire le dit se la letre ne ment,
Dont il auront envie plus de mil et .vij. cent.
Betis et li Gadrain harront molt son present !

79, 27. darrains. 50. len arme. 55. *mile*] mil.

79, 23. S. n. nos maintenons d. aus v. 25. H *om. line.* 27. B. f. au daerain cil enporta s. 28. Mais nos veromes ja. 30. q. ci sunt en present. 31. E. n. T. son p. s. 32. n. voi jou pas s. 33. & dirons auques tuit apres v. **erranment.** 35. Ne d. n. bien fait ne parleront n. 36. S. jou a. li suefre Damel Dex me cravent. 37. Se jou ne l. fac hui plus lonc arestement. 38. Jou. *qui*] u. 39. A m. en conduit d. estrangement. 40. *ien*] jou. 41. H *om. lines* 41-45. 46. E. F. cor le fai jou en a. b. t. 47. *de*] del. enprent. 48. *hui pene*] **esprove.** 49. S. ci m. f. o. vus me feries dolent. 50. Il.

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Bot we contene vs manly,
As gude knichtis and hardy,
Befoir thame that ar freshly heir
Cummin now, wit ȝe but weir
All our gude sall turne to shame,
And, efter win, now sone at hame
Thay sall perchance ruse thame, and sa
* * * * * * *
* * * * * * *
For ȝit, or all the gaming ga,
I sall thame mak sic ane shawing
That I am he to quhome the King
Hes geuin hallely his oist to leid.
My saull cum neuer in haly steid,
I sall set sum in hard affray!
It sall be sone sene at assay
Quhidder we or thay that cummin ar heir,
Now freshest flowand in thair geir,
Sall better demane the felloun ficht
And stint thair fais with strenth and micht.
Thay sall nocht scorne me, gif I may!
A! gude Ferrand, quhat will I say?
I haue assayit the oft-syse,
And I fand neuer in the fantyse,
For me now thow sall be in thra!"
With that, endlang his sydis tua,
With spurris he brocht him in hy,
And he lansit delyuerly.
I trow he sall sone do sum thing,
Bot gif the story mak gabbing,
That ane thousand sall haue invy
Richt at his douchty cheualry,
That duke Betys, at myne intent,
Sall nocht pryse greatly that present.

[Felloun

2483. *freshly*] frely.
2487. *Two lines, corresponding to lines* 34-36 *of the French, appear to have been dropped.*
2499. *nocht*] not.
2509. *invy*] in hy.
2511. L. *Duke.*
Minuscule at line 2484.

lenarme. 51. *tressaut*] li saut. 52. Ases e. p. de terme cort d. t. i. a. 53. *a lui*] au cors. 54. ses xv. pois d. 55. *i*] lor. dont mult erent dolent. 56. H *inverts lines* 56 *and* 57. Cor li lettre l. d. s. lestore n. m. 57. S. e. aront e. 58. & meismes B. hara m. s. p. [Mult li fist de laidure ains lor desoivrement].

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80 LI estors fu molt grans et merveilleus et fier,
Et la noise molt grans as lances abessier.
Li rois et Tholomer et Clins jostent premier,
Et li baron de Grece qui tuit sont costumier
De ruistes os derompre et de gens damagier,
Mes ains nuit porront dire, et je l'os afichier,
Ne vorroient lor armes vendre ne engagier.
Cil de Gadres se tindrent, qui ne daignent plorer,
Ains lor vinrent si tost con puënt chevauchier.
La peüssiés vëoir .ij. orgueils acointier,
Onques n'i ot parole de nului empirier
Par bouce manecie, ne vers home tenchier,
Ains ont tout lor afaire atorné a lancier.
Entreferir se vont sans nului aresnier,
Molt se painent li .i. des autres damagier.
La veïssiés des lances par escus esclicier,
Les blans haubers fausser, derompre et desmaillier,
Et ces elmes quasser et les cercles trenchier,
Et ces espées trere et fraindre et enhochier
De maint cop traversain, et plusor droiturier
Dont par terre gisoient maint cors de chevalier.
A une part du champ furent tret li forrier,
Ne queïssent huimés a estor aprochier,
Mes il redoutent honte, et vilain reprovier,
Et le franc connestable ques a a enseignier.

80, 25. aenseignier.

80, 1. Estout furent li renc & perillous & f. 3. & Clincons tout p. 4. *tuit*] en. 5. D. grans melees f. & estors commencier. 6. M. il nel porent d. & i. l. tesmognier. 7. Quil n. volrent l. a. ne v. n. cangier. 8. tienent. quil n. voelent plaisier. 9. vienent. 10. dure gens a. 11. Ni oisies parler d. n. ensignier. 12. H *om. lines* 12-14. 15. paine. de lautre d. 16. *des*] ces. en ces e. ficier. 17. *For lines* 17-18 H *has one:* & ces obers f. & ces. c. t. 19. *trere*] fendre. & tordre & e. 20. & tant c. t. maint autre d. 22. *tret*] tout. [Por lor cors reposer & por aus refroidier]. 23. cuidoient. lestor.

[Quar conbatu estoient li xx. as xx. milliers
Non por quant il deusent lor armes despoullier.]

24. *il*] tant. 25. q. ot a justicier.

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Felloun and stout was the fechting,
The noyis was great of speiris breking,
The King, Dauclene and Tholomere
In the fore-front fechtand were.
The folk of Grece that thair wes
Schawit stoutly thair douchtines,
Bot sikkerly, I dar weill say,
Was nane of thame that wald that day,
Haue sauld nor wedset his arming
For scarlot furrit with riche furring,
For thay of Gaderis fellounly faucht,
Na for the King and all his maucht
Thay dedenȝit nocht on bak to ga.
Thair men micht se thame vnderta
Stoutnes, and strenth encounterit pryde.
Thay faucht fast on ather syde,
Thair was na flyting, wit ȝe weill,
Bot with wapons staluart of steill,
Thay dang on vther with all thair micht,
That mony ane sheild that shynit bricht,
And mony ane helme, to-hewin ware,
And swordis oft brokin in shunder thare,
And at eird lay mony ane knicht,
That for to help thame had na micht,
And with hard dintis sheildis clouin,
And knichtis lyand in blude be dosin.
THE furriouris out at ane syde
Togidder relyit was that tyde,
That had na mister, suth to say,
To gang to fechting mare that day;
Bot thay reprufe dred mair nor deid,
And he that had thame for to leid,

[That

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Por ce, s'il n'ont hauberc ne garnement entier,
Si iront il encor lor proësce assaier.
Dont brochent tuit ensamble o lor confanonnier,
Emenidus lait corre tout le fons d'un sentier
Ferrant qui bien le porte, ne tieng mie a lanier,
Car tuit le plus isnel sont vers lui eschacier !
Par dedevant les ieus Alixand' d'Alier,
Ala ferir Betis que il n'ot gueres chier.
N'oïstes por .i. coup escu si esmïer !
Il li trenche le cuir, et fait les ais percier
Et les mailles estendre du blanc hauberc doblier,
Endroit les maistres costes li fist le sanc raier,
Et tout aval le cors filer jusqu'au braier.
Tant roidement le porte a terre du destrier
Le heaume a or en fait en la terre fichier,
En piece ne peüst par lui seul redrechier,
Et lait en mi le champ Betis tout estrahier.
Pris le peüst avoir, mes a grant desirier
Corut Emenidus acoler et baisier,
Puis li dit en oiant, ne volt pas conseillier :
" Li pains soit benëois que vous daigniés mengier !
Car molt avés proësce et bonté, sans dangier !

80, 33. A la.

80, 26. *ce*] quant. 27. S. revont i. ensamble por p. a. 28. Lors poignent t. asamble o le c. 29. *le fons dun*] aval i. 30. F. q. si lenporte n. tenes a l. 31. *vers*] a. 32. Tres. 33. Ala. quil navoit g. c. 35. I. l. t. les las & lescu f. p. 36. *blanc*] bon. 37. Desous le grose coste. 38. & le cauce de fier & lesporon moullier. 39. *le porte*] labat. 40. Que l. quin de son elme f. e. t. f. 41. [Alisandres lesgarde sel couru enbracier]. 43. por loisir & liier. 45. & o. tous l. dist n. li vot c. 46. B. s. l. p. q. v. deves m. 47. *molt*] vus.

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That was Emynedus the douchty,
Admoneist thame sa worthely,
And, thocht he had na armour hale,
3it wald he as gude vassale
His hie worship stoutly assay;
Than to the fecht all prekit thay.
Emynedus than straucht his steid,
And he him bare wale gude speid;
He was forsuth greatly to pryse,
That ran than on sik ane wyse
Efter that he sa trauellit was.
He plungit in the thikkest preis,
And, richt befoir the nobill King,
He smot Betys in his cuming,
Sa that 3e saw neuer [sic] ane strake,
And his sheild in sunders brake;
The mail3eis of his habersoun
He persit, and his gude actoun.
Amang the rybbes of his syde,
The blude rushand he gart out glyde,
That ran doun stremand fra his wound.
He was sa stoutly laid to ground
That his helme stikkit in the grene.
King Alexander that straik hes sene
And leit Betys ly still alane.
Men sayis he micht him weill haue tane,
Bot he raid with great 3arning
To mak Emynedus welcuming,
And said to him, lauchand, "the mete
Mot blissit be euin that thow eate,
For thow hes worship and bounte,
Winning with wit and with lautie!

[Hard

2559. 3e] he.

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Ains nus ne vous trova vilain ne novelier,
Ne ne vosistes jor servir de losengier.
Dés hui matin avés soffert cest enconbrier,
Et estes conbatus dessi qu'a l'anuitier,
Ferus par mi le cors, demanois, sans lancier,
Et or peüstes si cele lance apuier
Il n'a home en cest mont ne s'en puist merveillier
Qui vous a de mesnie, molt s'en doit rehetier,
Que nus ne se porroit a vous apareillier !
Vous et Ferrant ne faites mie a desconpaignier ;
Diex vous garisse andeus, qui tout a a jugier,
Et me doint vëoir l'eure que vous puisse vengier !
Se perdu vous avoie, qui me porroit hetier ?
N'auroie mes talent, ce cuit, d'armes baillier ! "
A icest mot, desrengent li .c. et li millier,
Desor le duc Betis ont fait maint paönnier.
De bones gens vëoir doit l'en bien essaucier ;
Ce parut sor le duc a l'estor conmenchier.
La veïssiés .ij. gens fierement angoissier,
Les uns por retenir, les autres calengier.
Assés en poi de terme font mains archons vuidier,
Maint fils de france mere en vermeil sanc baignier,
Fo. 34. Maint riche branc d'espée en cervel töoillier.
Qui qu'en doie estre liés ou auques corroucier,
Bien furent li Gadrain a cel estor guerrier
Et vassal et preudome, por lor seignor aidier ;

80, 66. angoissies. 68. terre.

80, 48. *nus*] hom. 49. N. ainc j. n. v. 51. H *om. line.* 52. F. estes el c. jou vus voi bien sainier. 53. *apuier*] emploier. 54. Que i. n. sou siel h. 55. *a*] va. bien se d. r. 56. Quar n. miudres de v. ne puet lance brisier. 57. *mie*] pas. 58. D. v. puist garandir q. t. puet justicier. 59. & m. laist v. l. 60. *porroit*] feroit. 61. *mes*] plus. jou c. de dosnoier. 62. A cel m. se d. 63. Desous. 64. se puet on rehaitier. 66. L. v. les os si forment a. 67. *por*] poi. 68. *terme*] H. f. main arcon v. 69. *fils*] fil. *mere*] dame. 70. H. om. line. 72. B. le font l. G. a c. e. premier. 73. V. sunt & p.

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Hard neuer man that maid melling
With lossingery and taill-telling.
Sen this day at the Sone rysing,
Thow hes contenit this fell fechting
Quhill now that nicht is cumin neir;
And is woundit in places seir.
Now micht thow stryke sa stout ane straik,
Is nane on lyfe, I vndertake,
Na he sould thairof haue ferly.
Quha hes the in his cumpany,
He aucht in hart Ioyfull to be,
For nane that leiffis, peir is to the!
God saue the and Ferrand alsua,
For weill assemblit ar ȝe tua!
I sould na will have to conqueir,
And thow war deid, na armes beir."
With that, baith hunders and thousandis
War about Betys with burneist brandis,
And faucht felly, I vnderta,
Sum him to help, sum him to sla.
To nureis gude men and worthy
Men sould thame preis ay idantly,
For it is proffeit and honour;
And that was sene weill at that stour,
For thay of Gaderis with all thair micht
Abandoned thame into the ficht,
For to reskew thair lord Betys.
Thair men micht sie on many wys
Men fecht with force and with na threat,
And mony ane bathit in blude and sueat,
And mony ane fair body sone ly dead.
The Gaderanes faucht sa in that stead

[That

2580. *fell*] fele. 2583. *Now*] How.

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A cheval le r'ont mis, qui qu'en doie anuier.
Cort en ont deservie s'en droit lor vuet jugier,
Car por päour de mort ne l'i vorrent lessier,
Que conme lor seignor l'aiment et tienent chier.

81 GADIFER fu dolens, et ce li fu molt maus
Du duc qui cheüs ert, ses sires naturaus :
Il broche le destrier, qui plus tost cort par vaus
Et par tertres agus que autres paringaus.
Tholomer point le brun, qui en lui ert bien saus,
Si grans cops s'entredonnent es escus a esmaus
Que les boucles enfraignent, s'en vole li cristaus.
Li oil lor estincelent, si froissent les nazaus,
Tous les vis se despiecent et rompent les frontaus,
Lor cengles sont rompues, desnoés les poitraus ;
Estriers ne frains ne arme n'i vaut .i. denier faus !

82 ILLEC ou li vassal sont a terre cheü,
Veïssiés .i. estor par force maintenu.
La ot maint cop de lance et d'espée feru,
Et maint hauberc faussé, et percié maint escu,
Et maint heaume enbarré, et reönt et agu,
Et maint brach tout entier a cevalier tolu,
Mainte teste trencie et sevrée du bu.
Gadifer ont li sien fierement secouru,

81, 11. *ne frains*] frains. *The words* ne arme *appear to have been inserted by a later hand.*
82, 5. en barre.

80, 74. H *places line* 74 *after the two extra lines* = l. 77. 75. H *om. line.* 77. *In place of line* 77 H *has two:*

Gadifiers point & broce qui ne si vot targier
Il & si compagnon por le duc redrecier.

81, 1. G. ot grant ire & li ples f. m. m. 2. *cheus ert*] fu caus. 3. & point l. vair d. *cort*] va. 4. cautres bestes lingaus. 5. & T. l. b. q. li fait les grans s. 6. as e. as e.

[Que desous **les blasons** trancierent les cendaus
Ja tornast a grant perte a lor amis carnaus
& fust a quelque fust cele joste mortaus
Quant les lances pecoient ensamble communaus
Si fort sunt encontre lun lautre des vasaus].

7. Q. li escus pecoient senvolent l. c. 8. & ronpent lor n. 9. *For lines* 9 *and* 10 H *has one:* L. arcon pecoierent sen ronpent l. p. 11. Par les crupes volerent ambedoi des cevaus.

82, 1. La u l. doi v. 2. fierement m.

[& oisies tel noise & tel cri & tel hu
Quar dune part & dautre furent li lor venu].

3. L. veiscies par ire m. pesant c. feru. 4. *For lines* 4-9 H *has:*

& tant elme enbare & tant Turc porfendu
& maint bon chevalier de la siele abatu
Li home Gadifer ne sunt pas malostru
Ains lont mult vistement a lestor souscoru.

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That thay of Grece for na thing micht
Arest duke Betys into ficht.
Thay haue seruit landis but dreid,
For thair na radnes micht thame leid,
Na strenth of men, to fle the preis
Quhill thair lord at myscheif was.
GAVDIFEIR sorrowfull was and wa
That duke Betys was fallin sa.
With spurris he straik the steid of pryde,
On better hors micht na man ryde;
And Tholomeir raid him agane
Full michtely as man of mane.
Sik straikis thay gaue to thair blasounis
Thay thirlit all thair habersounis.
That cours had turnit to great skaith
To thame and to thair freindis baith,
Na war thair speiris in shunder brast.
With sheildis met thay sa fast
That sadill, renȝe, girth and patrall
At that grit bir war brokin all.
Thay fell baith flatlingis on the grene;
Sa hard ane cours was seindill sene.
QVHAIR thir tua knichtis fallin ware,
The fecht vox ay mare and mare.
With sindrie waponis mony ane strake
Amang thame can thay giue and take,
And mony helme to-hewin was,
And knichtis fell deid in that place,
Heidis fra bodyis quyte and clene
War strukin, tumbland on the grene.
The Gaderanes, that war wicht in weir,
Wichtly reskewit thay Gaudifeir.

[And

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Et traistrent de l'estor ; son escu a fendu ;
Et ont son bon cheval a force retenu,
Et remise tel sele dont li pris molt grant fu,
Car li archon en erent tout a fin or batu.
Estordi le remontent et auques esperdu,
Car ne sevent sans lui la monte d'un festu.
Corages li revint, s'a vers euls entendu,
Dont s'afiche es estriers et sache le branc nu ;
Ja nel tenront huimés li Grejois por lor dru !
Tout droit a Tholomer sont li sien acoru,
Sel troverent gisant laidement abatu ;
Il ot toutes les jambes et le cors estendu ;
A molt grant paine i ont point de vïe sentu.
Envers lui se sont tret quant l'ont aperceü,
La pleurent et regretent li grant et li menu.
Parole li revint, s'a le cri entendu ;
Conme ains pot, se redrece, que trop i ot jeü,
Si lor a dit : " Taisiés, que tous sui en vertu !
Amenés moi cheval, ou sans crin ou crenu !
Por ce nel blasmeroie se l'en l'avoit tondu ! "
Alixand' meïsmes li a le brun rendu,
Il i monte, et Danclins li a l'estrier tenu ;
Si resont as Gadrains dui anemi creü !

83 MOLT se furent maumis li vassal au joster,
Ains mes n'oïstes plus .ij. homes estonner ;
Ains eüssiés loisir d'une tretie aler
C'onques nés .i. seus d'euls se peüst acesmer.
Gadifer se recuevre premerains conme ber,
Envers les mestres rens conmence a raviner,

82, 14. lamonte.

82, 9. Fors d. l. lont mis a son col s. e. 10. *a*] par. 11. Remis lont en la s. qui bele & rice f. 12. *erent*] sunt. trestout a o. b. 13. Estordis fu li ber del cop cot receu. 14. *seuent*] valent. *For lines* 15 *and* 16 H *has :*

Se de lui seul defalent li autre sunt vencu
Sor le destrier safice sa le mestier veu
& le besoig quil ont de lui reconneu
Quar li plusior en vont de bienfait esmeu
Que il le quidoient mort & fors del sens iscu
Mais li bons chevaliers au corage cremu
Se fiert en aus plus joins dun fauconcel ramu
Dire & de lui vengier plus enbrases de fu
En ses armes sestraint & clot en son escu
De ferir saparelle & trait le branc molu.

17. Hui mais ne le t. [Tout abat & ronpi caus ca aconseu]. 18. Deseure T. s. l. Griu **arestu.** 19. Si le trueue g. l. estendu (*cp. next line*). 20. H *om. line.* 21. E. g. piece ni o. p. d. v. veu. 22. H *om. line.* 23. Lors p. tenrement. 24. *le cri*] vers aus. [Grant joie orent de lui

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And hes him drawen out of the preis ;
His gude stede als reskewit was,
And sadeled new, for his arsoun
Was brokin, as he was borne doun.
Dissy on hors thay haue him brocht,
For better him helpe couth thay nocht,
For he recouerit sone in hy,
That hard the straikes and the cry.
Courage him walknit and hardiment,
In steropis stith he him stent.
The folk of Grece I trow, perfay,
Sall find him for na freind that day.

ON Tholomere, that 3it lyand
At eard streikit baith fute and hand,
The folk of Grece arested are,
And him reskewit with fechting sare.
Vneis in him the lyfe thay fand,
Bot, sone as he can vnderstand
The noyis, the slauchter and the cry,
On fute he start delyuerly
And asked horsing, and the King
Him-selfe ane broun can to him bring,
And he lap on delyuerly,
Thinkand to venge him haistelly.
At that iusting tha knichtis tua
To-frushit war and stonyed sua
That men micht gang ane weill gude space
Or ony of them wist quhair he wes.
Bot first recouered Gaudifeir,
As ane knicht that was wicht in weir ;
Richt to the maister renk he raid.

[His

2641. *him*] thame. 2653. *ON*] OF.
2643. *new*] him new.

---

quant sunt aperceu]. 25. Com a. p. saut en pies car t. i a j. 26. *Si*] &. car plains s. de v. 27. Ramenes mon c. ni soies arestu. 28. sel trovoie tendu. 29. M. A. *brun*] bai. [i. des bons con trovast dusquas bones Arcu]. 30. Cil i m. & Clincons. 31. Cil restorne a. G. a lor anui venu.

83, 1. fuscent. *au ioster*] adure. 2. H *om. line.* 3. H me fisent ; I queusies. H traistie ; I traicie. 4. H Que li uns ne li autres s. p. relever ; Ne se peut li un dels en nul sens racesmer. 5. *recuevre*] redrece. 6. commenca a aler.

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Le branc nu en sa main conmence a trestorner,
En .i. escu le fiert, sel brise au trespasser ;
Mes il fu plus aidans que ne vous puis conter,
A .i. Grieu tolt sa lance, ne li daigna rouver,
Si li trait fors des mains le cuir en fist voler.
Son conpaignon meïsme la fist tost conperer,
Durement le feri, tant con pot raviner,
Par mi le cors l'en fist une toise passer,
Si l'abat des archons qu'ains ne pot mot soner.
Tholomer fu dolens quant le vit soviner ;
Il ert de sa meisnie, sel põoit molt amer.
Por Gadifer sorprendre, conmence a traverser
Et les rens en droit soi vers destre a sormonter.
Cil ert sages et preus, duis de guerre mener ;
Bien se sot au besoing et conduire et garder ;
Tout a un fais li lait le cheval trestourner,
C'or le vorra de lance et d'escu encontrer,
Mes ne fait nul samblant quel voille refuser,
Ains le fiert conme cil qui vosist mort geter,
Ou de membre ou de cors, s'il peüst, afoler.
Par la penne devant li fait le fer outrer,
Mes la lance ne pot le grant fais endurer,
La force du cheval ne du vassal porter,
Au broier sor l'auberc li covint a quasser.
Et cil li vait .i. cop a damage donner
Par deseure l'escu, ou double du coler,
Que la teste o tout l'eaume li fist aval couler
Et au fais du hauberc jusqu'a terre verser ;
Par le resne de soie vait le cheval couvrer.
Danclins vint au travers por calenge mostrer,
Sel feri de sa lance de tant con pot aler,
Que bien haut en a fait les esclices voler,

83, 12. meismes. 20. est.

83, 7. que bel savoit porter. 8. Une cane reprist quil b. a. t. 9. Car plus preu & a. n. peust on trover. 10. i. gars tint une l. qui ne li vot douner. 11. *mains*] puins. l. c. li f. crever. 12. *For lines* 12 *and* 13 H *has one :* i. chevalier f. quant kil p. randonner. 14. *len fist*] li fait. 15. Mort l. d. a. ains n. li lut parler. [Si quil ne pot a Deu la merci demander]. 17. Espris de lui vengier prist a esporoner. 18. commenca a outrer. 19. & l. r. entor lui sor d. s. 20. H *om. line.* 21. Trop s. set b. aidier & c. & guier. 23. Quar. 24. *Mes*] &. quil. 25. quil voloit m. j. 26. & descu & d. membres a. pooit a. 27. En. l. p. d l. f. lescu quaser (*cp. l.* 30). 29. *For lines* 29 *and* 30 H *has one :* Iluec sor le hauberc li convint endurer. 31. & c. l. fait i. c. de lespee d. 32. P. son le cercle dor del d. capeler. 33. fet contre val cliner. 34. & a fait dusquen tiere le blanc auberc couler. 35. P. les regnes a or v. l. c. conbrer. 36. Clincon pert a. t. p. sen pooir m. 37. Si le fiert d. l. l. *con*] I quil. 38. H *om. line.*

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His bricht brand in his hand he had,
Thair-with he payit that he met,
And in hede harnis oft it bet.
Syne fra ane Greciane reft ane spere,
(He was help-lyke in great manere)
Ane knicht of Grece thair-with straik he,
Throw out the body quyte and fre,
And him deid fra the sadill draif.
Syne straik with straucht arme on the laif.
Quhen Tholomere hes sene him sua
Difoull his folk, he was full wa.
To venge him he had gude will.
The steid he steris than tit him till,
And Gaudifere the gude at neid
In hy to him he steris his steid.
Tholomere him sa stoutly straik
That he his harnes can all to schaik.
He wint weill to haif slane him thare,
Bot the speir was grete and square,
It micht nocht thole the staluart straik
That it nocht all to schounderis brak,
And Gaudifere sic ane rout him rocht
That soudainly to erd he socht.
The helm in erd it stikkit sua
That neir the nekbane ȝeid in tua.
The gude hors grippit Gaudifere,
Bot Daucline, that was wicht in weir,
Trauissit challange for to maik,
And with the staluart spere him straik,
That it to-fruschit with great pane,
Bot Gaudifere sat as man of mane,
That nouther arsoun na sterapis tynt,

[Na

2675. greciane.
2681. tholomere.
2698. daucline.

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Mes onques de ce cop nel pot desconraër
N'il n'en lait, por Cliton, le cheval amener.
Fo. 34v. Tholomer cuidast prendre s'il peüst arrester,
Mes il vit son seignor laidement demener,
As piés de maint cheval contre terre fouler,
Et quant il se redrece, sel font des pis hurter,
Et d'une part et d'autre tout estendu voler.
La se trest Gadifer por le duc delivrer,
En la grant presse fait le bon cheval entrer,
Il i rechut maint cop por son seignor sauver,
A cheval le remist, qui qu'en doie peser.
Sor le brun Tholomer a fait Betis monter,
Molt est bons a son oes por richement ouvrer,
Assés vaut miẹx du vair, et miex s'i pot fïer.
S'or se vuet de la presse partir ne dessevrer
Et li chevaus ne chiet, bien porra eschaper !

84 MOLT ot bien Gadifer son seignor delivré,
Et remis a cheval que molt ot desiré,
Mes il se sent blecié et forment esgené,
De radement chëoir a le cors estonné,
Ne cuide mes tenir ne chastel ne cité.
Il a dit a ses homes : " Trop i avons esté ! "

83, 39. *nel*] ne. 40. Ne ne l. p. Clincon. 41. quidoit pooit. H adestrer ; I aresner. 42. voit. 43. laidement defouler (*cp. prec. line*). 44. fait. *pis*] pies. 45. I estordi. 46. releuer. [Le ceval ot en destre qui tant fist a loer]. 47. Ens e. l. grignor p. f. son c. e. 48. *Il i*] Iluec. 49. *remist*] ra mis. 50. qui tant fait a loer. **[Sil ne fust si laidis bien le puis afier]**. 51. Quil sist sor bon ceval por son cemin errer. 52. A. v. m. del sien & m. puet endurer. 53. S. s. puet d. lestor p. & d. 54. H *om. line*.

84, 1. *ot*] a. 2. qui quen doie peser. 3. & durement navre. 5. N. c. m. venir a c. na c. 6. *I*] &. aves.

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Na ȝit remouit nocht for the dynt ;
For Dauclyne, leit he nocht to lede
Throw out the preis the staluart steid.
He saw his lord, the duke Betys,
At erd amang his enemyis,
Wnder hors fute defoullit sa
That, ay [quhan] he on hand wald ta
To get on fute, thay that war by
Wald beir him doun deliuerly.
The gude Gaudifere hidder raid,
Throw strenth of his steid, but abaid.
He plungit in the thikkest preis
To help his lord that lyand was.
Mony ane straik there hes he tane,
Bot, maugre thairis of Grece ilkane,
On Tholomeris steid hes he
Horssit his lord throw his bounte.
War nocht the duke now doungin sa,
He hes ane hors, I vndirta,
Of grete bounte quhair-on he may
Richt weill his hardement assay.
Likit him than to leif the fecht,
Maugre his fais I trow he micht
His gait richt weill to Gaderis ga,
All-thocht thay chaissit him neuer sa.
GAVDIFERE weill delyuerit hes
His lord, that at great mischeif was,
And horssit him sa richly.
Bot he felt him sa fellonly
Hurt and to-frushit with the fall
That his body was to-stonyit all.
Than to his men in hy said he,

["Heir

2705. dauclyne.
2712. *him*] thame.
2719. tholomeris.

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Barons, alons nous ent, tuit rengié et serré,
Si deffende chascuns sa vie et sa santé !
Car li rois nous het tout de molt grant cruauté,
Et li forrier se sont avec lui ahurté,
Et cil nous heënt tant ne ert mes acordé.
Mes une rien vous os dire por verité :
Puis que li forrier sont avec euls asamblé,
N'i poõns demorer a nule sauveté
Ja ne fussons de champ par les autres geté.
" Sire," dist Gadifer, " vous dites verité !
Trop sont icil forrier chevalier aduré.
Preu sont et prou s'esmaient, ja tant n'erent grevé
Ne ja lor connestable ne verrois esfraé ! "
A cest mot a chascuns son escu adossé,
Ses esperons n'i volt nus avoir oublïé,
Droit vers Gadres s'en vont fuiant acheminé,
Mesençois qu'il i viengnent, seront de prés hasté !

85

DOLENS s'en vait li dus, corrouciés et iriés,
Car onques ne fu jor de nul besoing chaciés,
Ne ne vint en estor d'armes apareilliés
Que siens n'en fust li champs, tant par est resoigniés,
S'iert de bons conpaignons et d'amis enforciés.

85, 5. Si ert.

84, 7. B. tornes vus e. t. estroit & s. 8. S. garise c. son cors & s. s. 9. C. l. r. Alixandres n. a. quelli e. h. 10. & lor f. resunt. a l. **ajoste.** 11. *For line* 11 H *has:*

Lor sire Emenidus qui tant a de fierte
Il & si conpagnon qui tant sunt adure
Ont laidement men cors laidengie et foule
A c. & m. diables soient il commande.

12. U. r. v. dirai par fine v. [**Ne fuscent l. f. qui o e. s. jouste** (*cp. line* 13). 13. H *places lines* 13-14 *after line* 15. 14. en n. seurte. 15. J. n. fuscies del c. p. l. a. sevre. 16. al partir mult men he. 17. H *om. line.* 18. *Prou* (bis)] peu. quant plus sunt agreve. **21.** *For lines* 21-22 H *has one:* Au plus tos que il porent tornent vers lors regne. **22.** *viengnent*] soient. s. il plus hurte.

85, 1. *sen*] en. 2. *ior*] V mes. H C. onques mais n. f. d. n. estor c. 3. HV Nil n. v. a e. (H lestor). 4. *nen*] HV ne. *par est*] H estoit ; V p. ert. 5. *Siert*] HV &. *damis*] H armes.

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" Heir Is na bute langer to be.
Ilk man defend his auin heill!
The King is angry with to deill,
And syne the furriours ar
All knyt with him, baith les and mare,
That dedely haitis vs ilkane,
And thocht thay do, ferly is nane.
Bot ane thing suithly say I dar:
War nocht the furriouris, that ar
With thame aganis vs fechtand,
We suld nocht for the remanand
Be drawin to-day fra the battalle."
Quod Gaudifere, " for-outin faill,
That is all certane that ȝe say,
For thay haue preuit weill to-day,
And ar assemblit for na mischeif."
And, with that word, baith caucht thair leif,
Turnit thair brydillis and to-ga.
I trow that thair was sum of tha,
To sell thare spurris that tyme na wald.
Touart Gaderis thair way thay hald,
Bot, or thay all be cummin thare,
The sydis of sum may sowe full sair.
THE duke held sorowfull his way,
For neuer his lif-tyme to that day
Was he chaissit out of ane stour,
Bot in all tyme the hie honour
Be left with him, as I hard tell,
All-thocht the fecht was neuer sa fell,
For enforcit richt wele was he
Of freindis and kyn of great bounte.
Now of his mischeif was he wa,

[And

2741. L. *deidly*.
2745. *aganis*] agains.
2754. ya.
2759. L. *sorrowfull*.

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Or s'en vait desconfis, s'est malement plaiés ;
S'il li torne a anui, ne vous en merveilliés,
Car ses mieudres conpains Gadifer n'ert pas liés,
Mes plus dolans assés qu'oiseaus desanijés,
Ne hom desherités ne a tort forjugiés.
Mes ne fait nul samblant que il soit esmaiés,
Ne ne se contient mie conme hom estoutoiés,
Par derriere s'est mis, as estriers afichiés,
D'orgueil et de fierté sor l'escu enbuchiés,
Rade lance en son poing dont li fers n'ert ploiés.
La retorne sovent ou il ert aprochiés,
Ses conpaignons delivre quant les vit trop chargiés.
Li champs est aprés lui des abatus jonchiés,
De sa lance est le fust radement paumoiés.
Cil en est bien ferus ou il est adrechiés,
Maint en lait aprés lui de la mort acoisiés,
De frois et de pasmés et de trop enseigniés,
Con cil qui ne doute estre de nului blastengiés,
Se n'est d'aucun musart de mal dire aguisiés
Et de folïe plus que de sens empreigniés.
Corineüs li crie, qui vint tous eslessiés :

---

85 [HV **Or aire mult grant car el cors fu** (V sest el cors ml't) **blecies.**] 6. V *om. line.* H & si senfuit vers Gadres dolans & courecies. 7. HV n. **vus** esmervillies. 8. *Car*] H &. *nert*] H nest. 9. HV M. a. p. d. H que oisiaus desnicies ; V quoisals des aeirez. [V La color li mua car el cors fu plaiez.] 11. *Mes*] H &. HV quil en s. e. 12. H *om. line.* V Nil. 13. HV D. tous s. m. *as*] HV es. 14. *lescu*] HV **son elme.** HV **embroncies** (V enbruchez). 15. H Grose. HV d. l. f. n. **nest pas** (H *ont.*) v. 16. HV trestorne. *ert*] H fu. 17. H q. il l. v. c. ; V ker t. l. ueit c. 18. HV **om. line.** 19. *paumoies*] H enpugnies. 20. *est*] V sest. *For line* 20 H *has two :*

Sacies que li premiers qui li est aprocies
Que il est de son cors malemement enpiries.

21. V empres. H Plusiors e. l. aler. HIV d. l. m. (H malement) **angouscies.** 22. *frois*] V mors. HIV & d. bien essonnies (H ensames : ? ensaines). 23. *doute*] V doit. H Si nen doit Gadifiers e. pas avillies. 24. H d. mesdire avancies ; I d. mals dis ensegnies ; V d. folie angoisses. 25. V & dautre chose p. q. d. s. e. *sens*] H bien.

[HIV Mais par homme (IV œvre) destore deust (V de mort) estre **essaucies**]
[HV Si ja nus (V iames) p bien faire doit bien (V nus) estre **prisies**].

26. HV escrie.

[HV **Vasal cor** (V ca) **trestornes** (V retournez) **por coi vus avillies** (V car ml't uus auilez)
Laidement en ales car del vo i laies (V quant lez uos i leissez)].

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And he was woundit sair alsua.
Thocht he had Ire, was na ferly,
And Gaudifeir was mair sory
Than man that war with strenth and micht
Dampned, or disherist, aganes richt.
He maid na semblance ȝit for-thy
To be abaissit greatumly.
Behind his feiris he abade,
Ane staluart speir in hand he hade;
Enbrushed vnder his helme he wes,
Fulfilled of pryde and of stoutnes.
He met thame oft with hardy cheir
That come approchand to him neir.
His fellowis oft delyuerit he
Quhan that he saw thame chargit be;
Richt rudely brandist he his speir;
Oft-syse, wit ȝe weill, thay war
Strikken richt rudly that he met,
And he all haillely him set
For to defend all the flearis,
And for to stony the chaissaris;
Mony ane left he efter him deid.
He turnit oft his steidis heid
To thame that he saw neir chaissand,
To helpe his freindis and warrand.
Gif ony man sould louit be
For douchty dede, I trow that he
Sould prysit be, and that trewlie.
With that, Corneus in hy
Cryit, "vassale, turne the to me!
To greatly thow defoulles the,
That fleis and leiffis thy folke lyand!

[Supprysit

2774. greattumly. 2777. L. *Embrushed.*

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" Hui nous avés sovent de molt prés enchauciés !
Or estes, ce m'est vis, aucaites refroidiés,
Et vostre pris dechiet quant si vous enfuiés !
N'avés droit en la manche dont si vous cointoiés ! "
Gadifer le regarde, qui molt fu corrouciés,
Et dist par mautalent : " Ja fust cis mos vengiés
Se je ne fusse d'autre que de vous enchauciés !
Por quant mes mautalens m'en est si engrangiés
Ja en ferai tel chose dont ne fusse äaisiés ! "
A .i. fais li trestorne, de bien faire tous liés,
Et cil revient molt tost, sous l'escu embuchiés,
Qui ert cointes et preus et molt outrecuidiés,
Et chevaliers molt bons et molt bien afaitiés ;
Se tant ne parlast d'armes, trop fust bien enseigniés.
Entreferir se vont, les confanons bessiés,
Et par mi les haubers ont les blasons perciés.
De la lance au Grejois est li fus peçoiés,
Cil que Gadifer tint ne n'est tors ne brisiés,
Que la hanste estoit roide ; et il fu molt iriés,
Par tel vertu l'empaint, si con vint eslessiés ;
Que si roidement est li siens cops emploiés
Que tous en est vermaus li confanons frangiés,
Le foie est entamés et li pomons perciés,
Et li fers d'autre part en est outre lanciés,
Li cors du chevalier par terre trebuchiés,
Et de l'ame et du sanc est, a ce cop, vuidiés.
Puis li dit par contraire : " Frere, .i. pou vous targiés !
Fo. 85. Pour Dieu vous voil proier que ne me ledengiés !
Hom qui trop est grevés est molt contralïés.

85, 27. Huis. 28. auques.

85, 27. *Hui*] V. *enchaucies*] V essaiez. H Hui n. a. d. p. laidement e. 28. HV aucaites (V auketres) r. ; I un petit r. 29. H V. p. est ceus por coi v. e. 31. H si sest m. airies. 32. [HV & cis dis orgillous fierement calengies]. 33. HV S. n. f. dautrui. V ke d. v. soul choiciez. 35. HIV T. c. f. ja d. preu (I poi) niere aisies (V aeisez).
[HV Ciertes la joste ares (V Mes la ioste en aurez) se vus ne mi (V me) fallies] [H Ja sera tout a i. se ne mi guencissies.]
36. *fais*] H tour. V Vers lui point le cheual. *tous lies*] H haities ; V afeitez. 37. H & c. li r. t. ; V & c. encontre lui. *sous*] H en. V enbruschez. 38. *ert*] H est. *cointes*] V curtois. HV & m. bien ensegnez (H afaities ; *cp. next line*). 39. *bons*] H prous. H & mult outrequidies ; V de prouesce afichez. 40. *tant*] H trop. *trop*] H mult. V affaitez. [V Mes de co ne doit estre par nul home proisez.] 41. H lacies. 42. V Ke. *haubers*] HV blasons. *blasons*] HV aubers. 44. H nest mus ne arcoies ; I n. ne ros ne ployes. [V Einz est tut droit el cors del cheualier plungez]. 45. H *om. lines* 45 *and* 46. V *om. lines* 45-47. 47. HI Ains est s. vistement l. espius envoies (I en el cors emplongies). 48. H ses c. roies. [H & li cors del vasal

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Supprysit thow hes vs all neir-hand,
Bot thow art culit now ane party!
Thy pryde the failȝeis foullely,
That passis fleand fra the ficht!
Of that ilk sleif thow hes na richt
That I vpon thy helme se;
Scho set it euill that gaif it the!"
GAVDIFEIR him beheld wraithly,
And said sumdele dispittously,
"War I chargit with nane bot the,
Thy wordis sould thow sone lat be!
Bot nocht-for-thy, fall as it may,
The iusting sall thow haue, perfay,
Bot gif the failȝeing fall in the!"
With that, in hy to him turnit he,
And he, that wicht was and hardy,
Agane him come full sturdely,
For he was of richt great bounte.
Bot all to succodrous was he;
Had he nocht spokin so greatly,
In armes he had bene worthy.
Togidder thay smot, quhill thair blasounis
Thay thirlit, and thair habersounis.
Corneus on him brak his speir,
Bot sa hard smot him Gaudifeir
That his speir and his gunfioun
Was bludy to the hand all doun;
Baith leuer and lungis in shunder he share,
And dede doun to the erd him bare.
Than Gaudifeir said him in scorning,
"Thair lyis pryse in defoulling!
Men that ar wraith will nocht weill ta

[In thank

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doutre en outre percies]. 49. HV L. fiel (V Li foies) entames & l. p. froisies (V tranchez). 50. H *om. line.* V esse 'uez. 51. V Atant est del cheual chaue & trebuchez. 52. *lame*] H larme. *est*] fu. V & del alme e. li cors a c. c. v. 53. V *om. lines* 53 *and* 54. H P. l. a dit en bas sire en pais v. taisies. 54. *ledengies*] corecies. 55. *molt*] V tost.

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Ce seult dire la gent : sorparler est pechiés.
Por moi et por les autres en estes engingniés,
Car molt estïés preus se parliers ne fussiés !
D'ui cest jor en avant, cest passage guetiés
Et prendrois le travers quant foire ert ou marciés.
Por quan qui vous afiere, ja trop n'i bargingniés,
Assés aurois en pou quant ainsi gãaingniés.
Vostre anemis morteus s'est a vous acointiés,
Gadifer des Laris ; ne sai sel cognissiés ?
Par vous n'en ert huimés mes foïrs reprochiés,
Ains m'en irai a Gadres delivres et hetiés
Se par mieudres de vous ne sui deschevachiés ! "

86 OR s'en vait Gadifer, qui les Gadrains en maine,
Por son lige seignor est entrés en grant paine ;
Bien li puet sovenir de dolente semaine.
De tel baron haster est la mort trop vilaine,
Qui or s'en va tous sains et ja n'a tel estraine
Qu'ele le claime tout por sien lige demaine,
Ne ses sens ne muet pas de mauvese fontaine,
Ne li sans de son cors de perecheuse vaine,
Car il est plus seürs qu'en une tour hautaine.
Assés miex se desfent et de meillor alaine
Que ne fait as broõns ors betés en chãaine,
Et cil qui encachoient la valée soutaine
Truevent des abatus la route toute plaine.
Alixand' meïsmes vint poignant par l'araine,
Lance roide sor feutre son confanon engraine.

85, 62. gaingnies. **86**, 5. senus. 11. Qui. 14. la raine.

85, 56. V seuent. 57. H Par cest & par l. a. ; V Par uostre sorparler. V e. uous e. 58. *molt*] H trop. V M. par estoiez p. H **sorgillous** n. f. ; V s. uantant n. f. 59. HV De. *cest passage*] H le p. 60. H Sen prendes l. treu. V Si coillez l. t. *quant*] H si. *ert*] H V est. 61. H *om. line.* V *om. lines* 61 *and* 62. 62. H gaegnies. 63. *sest*] H est. *a*] V de. 64. *des*] H del ; V de. 65. H Por. *meu*] V ni. H li fuirs r. 66. V Vers G. m. i. HV d. ce sacies. 67. *ne*] H ni.

86, 2. *grant*] H tel. 3. V pot. 4. *baron*] V home. *la mort trop*] H t. l. m. 5. *ia ns*] V ora. H Quar or sen va fuiant & sen a t. e. *For lines* 5-7 V *has :*

Kar la char de li ert de grant bonte si pleine
Ke ml't ẽ grant damage quant ele nest tote seine
Mes co ne put pas estre eue a mal estreine.

6. H Quil laisera trestout. 7. H Mais s. s. n. vient mie d. dolante f. 8. H Mais de corage entir & de natural v. ; V Si que li sancz est eissu tres parmi meinte v. [V Ore oiez grant prouesce cũ il sa gent ẽmeine.] 9. H S. e. com sil fust en la grant t. autaine. V Nert mie enclos entre eus com escharlate engreine. 10. V Ein aloit derere eus co est chose certaine (*cp. l.* 20). 11. V *om. lines* 11-27. *as*] H a. HI brohons. H ces breteis e. c. ; I hours com bete en e. 12. H C. q. le baron cacent. 13. *route*] H voie. 14. H laraine. 15. H Devant tous les barons de Grese Macidaine.

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In thank to be defoulit sa !
That hes thow feld in sum party !
Had thow nocht proud bene, sikkerly
Thow had bene of great vassalage,
Now mon thow keip heir this passage,
And quhan marcat or fair sal be,
To thame that may pertene to me
Luke thow with thame na bargane ma !
Gaudifeir de Laris, thy fa,
Hes heir acquentit him with the.
To-day my fleing sall not be
Lattit for the, I vnderta !
All quick to Gaderis sall I ga,
Bot gif that I vnhorsit be
With ane better all out na the ! "
NOW gangis gude Gaudifeir his way.
He hes him set in hard assay
For his gude Lordis saik, Betys.
The deid all out to villanes is.
He him defendit douchtely,
And oft he turned appartly,
Richt as it war ane baittit bair,
Quhan the houndis byte sould him sair,
Garres thame fle on far him fra.
With the chaisseris he did richt sa,
For sum he fellit and sum he slew,
And vther sum-deill thame withdrew ;
And thay that efter him come chaissand,
Of felled folk thay fand lyand
The feild [all] spred ; and than the King
That had thame all in gouerning,
Ane stalwart speir into his hand,

[On

2835. *vassalage*] vassalege.
2837. salbe.
2840. delaris ; L. *declaris*.

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Bucifal esperonne quant la joste ot prochaine,
Et fiert sor Gadifer con sor une quintaine,
De son escu li trenche la penne premeraine,
La lance vole en pieces au fort roi macedaine.
Li haubers fu si fors, ce est chose certaine,
C'onques ne li forfist vaillant une chastaine ;
Ains recuevre une lance, grosse et roide d'albaine,
Et encontre en son tour une route conmaine,
Le seignor en ocist et mist a terre plaine,
Et abat delés lui .i. fis de chastelaine,
Puis s'en vait les galos sor le bauchant demaine.
Li gentiex chevaliers a la proësce humaine,
Qui n'a lasche le cuer ne la pensée vaine,
La trestorne sovent ou force le sormaine ;
Qui il encontre bien, de son orgueil le saine ;
Tout le plus esfraé de l'enchaucier refraine.

87 BIEN s'en alast sans perte Gadifer, ce cuidons,
A ce qu'il ert si preus et ses chevaus trop bons,
S'il vosist o les autres ferir des esperons ;
Mes autresi encharge trestous ses conpaignons
Con la beste sauvage se met por ses faõns,
Estre cuide, et voirs est, la lor desfentĩons,
Et s'il est mors ou pris, si faut lor garisons.
N'a mĩe por fuĩr si tornés les talons

86, 20. cest.

86, 16. H dont l. i. est p. 18. *li trenche*] H abat. 19. H qui nert mie lontaine. [H Mais dun frasne plane si kil brisa a paine.] 20. *fu*] H est. H cou est c. c. 21. H C. n. lenpira. 22. HI Ne ne mut le ceval de la siele Gadraine (I grifaine). 23. H Ains e. a s. t. 25. H & abati les l. H fil. 26. H apres le gent aubaine. 27. H Gadifiers l. g. 28. H Q. ainc not l. c. ; V Kil nout malueis l. c. *pensee*] I proece. 29. H Le. V Einz. *ou*] V quant. H formaine. 31. H Que li p. desrees ; V T. l. p. desirans. HV d. l. safraine (V resteine). [H Bien ait teus chevaliers qui ensi se demaine.]

87, 1. H B. en a. a Gadres G. c. savons. 2. V Pour. *ert*] H est. *trop*] HV si. 3. H Cil. *ferir*] H fuir. 4. V M. a. defent tout soul s. c. 5. HV C. fait b. s. por les leus (V quant lou ueit) s. f. 8. V Nauoit pas p. f.

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On Bursiuell come fast prekand,
And smot sa hard on Gaudifeir
That all to flenders brak his speir,
Bot he brist not his habersoun,
Na Gaudifeir tint na arsoun;
And quhan the King was passit by,
He smot ane knicht sa sturdely
That gruflingis to the ground he glaid,
And he furth on his wayis raid,
And oft quhan thay him preissit neir,
He turned with ane sturdy cheir,
And stintit mony ane sturdy pryde;
And thay that chaissit at that tyde,
That war hardy, of mekill mane,
He gart arrest thair hors agane.

MEN knew it weill that Gaudifeir,
Be this that he was wicht in weir
And sat vpone ane nobill steid,
That nane micht better be in neid,
To Gaderis micht haue gane his way
Gif that he wald haue fled that day
As did his feiris in ane ling;
Bot he embraissit to great ane thing.
Bot as ane beist hir birth will driue
Fra the wolf that wald them riue,
His fellowis sa defendit he
He trowit, throw his great bounte,
For to be thair defence that day,
And sa he was, the suth to say;
For, war he outher tane or deid,
To help thame couth thay na remeid.
He turnit nocht his back to fle,

[Bot

2881. *And*] He. 2886. L. *imbraissit.*

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Que sovent ne lor soit trestornés ses blasons,
Menuëment trestorne, que bien en est saisons
Que la proësce pere dont tiex est li renons.
A l'un trenche le cuer, l'autre part li pomons,
Dont dit a soi meïsme : " N'i perdrai hui archons
Par nul que je en voie, tant soit grans ses renons,
Ains m'en irai a Gadres maugré tous les gloutons
Se par celui ne chie qui n'est pas des gachons,
A l'escu de sinople, a or est li lïons,
Et ses chevaus Ferrans, qui tous vaut les Gascons,
Ne seroit esligiés per .c. mile mangons.
Ja nel ruis encontrer, desproie ne semons.
Jehui m'a fait gesir .iij. fois a ventrillons,
Autresi estendu conme por oroisons !
Onques tiex chevaliers ne gousta de poissons ;
Il trenche par mi fer, os et ners et braõns !

87, 10. *trestorne*] se trestorne. 14. enuoie ; *ses*] *supplied.*

87, 9. H retornes ; IV reguencis. 10. H Meitement retorne car il e. e. s. *For lines* 10-11 V *has :*

A ceus ke pres li erent mostrout gius felons
Kil estoit proz & fiers ce uos pruis par resons
E en contre gazeroins estoit bon cõpainons
& a la gent de grece ert cruels & felons.

11. *dont*] H u. [HI Des Grijois entor lui lor a fait tes poons (I peons).] 12. *cuer*] H fie. V As uns t. les quors. H a l. le rognon ; V as autres les p. 13. H & d. a sa mesnie h. n. perdra a. ; V & d. entre ses denz ni uodrai a. 14. H *om. line.* 15. [H Par aus ne perderai vallant ii. esporons]. 16. H S. n. cest p. c. HV garcons. 17. HI u poins (I dor fin) e. l. l. V Ses escuz ẽ a o. & uermels ses leons. 18. H & au ceval corant. HV q. t. va de (V les) randons. 19. H *om. lines* 19 *and* 20. 20. V *om. line.* 21. H Il m. hui f. jesir. V Hui me fist del cheual gisir auentreisons. 22. H [Cou est Emenidus connoistre le devons]. [HIV **Lui ne ruis** (IV voel) **encontrer desproies ne somons.**] 23. V Car unke tel cheual. 24. *ners*] V char.

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Bot that, quhen he was preissit to be,
He turnit stoutly his vissage,
For, sen the nobill vassalage
Of him that had sik renounie
War shewit in dede as in bountie,
Sa did he thair, without gabbing.
He maid mony ane fare turning,
And mony ane straik he sadly set;
Held nane on hors that euer he met,
For with the spere that sharpely share
Mony ane fey he fellit thare;
And syne vnto him-self said he,
" For nane, certis, that I heir sie,
All be he neuer of sic renoun,
Sall I neuer tyne sterop na arsoun,
Bot I sall quyte to Gaderis ga,
Maugre the chaissaris, thocht thay war ma,
Bot gif it happin me to faill
Throw him, is maist to drede of all.
His sheild of gold is fair and fyne,
With ane read Lyoun that is thairin,
And Ferrand is his nobill steid,
May na man better haue at neid.
This day thris, withoutin wein,
He hes me measured on the grein,
Lyand as into orisounis.
Nouther for prayers na sermounis.
Think I to mete [him], gif that I may,
He is our all in hard assay.
His straik thair may withstand nathing,
Brane, nor bane, na ȝit arming.
The King that hes him in menȝe

[Aucht

2898. vassalege. 2924. *in*] ane.

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Bien en doit li rois faire seignor de ses maisons ;
Par lui tout seul est ce que nous le champ vuidons."

88 EN parler bonement puet l'en bien gäaignier
Car maint home en voit on sovent monteploier,
Ne ja por dire orgueil n'aura nus hom loier,
Ains en a sovent honte et perte et recovrier.
Je di por Gadifer le noble guerrier
De toutes bones teches n'ot en lui qu'enseignier.
Il fu loiaus et simples et dous a acointier,
Larges et frans de cuer et si fu biau parlier.
Onques nel pot amer traître losengier ;
La ou il sot preudome, bien le volt avanchier,
Ses bienfais met avant por lui avanchier,*
Ne nus hom par nule ire ne l'oï ledengier
Franc home de parole, ne en cort forjugier.
Bien ot oï li rois parler et desresnier
Et le gentil baron sor tous de bien proisier,
En son cuer l'aime et prise et molt plus l'en a chier,
Bonement prie a Dieu qui tout puet justicier
Qu'il desfende son cors de mortel enconbrier,
Qu'il ne autre nel puisse par armes damagier,
Fo. 35v. Car grans doels en seroit de tel home empirier.
Se il vif le puet prendre, n'en fera prisonnier
Por quel voille servir n'a amor souploier.
Lui et Emenidon vorroit acompaignier ;
Jamés ne conquerroient la monte d'un denier

88, 2. *sovent*] bien. 23. a compaignier. 24. lamonte.
* *The line does not scan ;* avanchier *is probably repeated inadvertently from preceding line.*

87, 25. H s. d. sa maison. 26. H Que p. l. s. e. c. V Car p. celi e. c. H q. n. nos enfuion. '*Laisses*' 88 *and* 89, *absent in* V, *occur in* H *with the following variants :*

88, 1. E. **bielement** p. 2. sovent. 3. *orgueil*] **outrage.** aura on louier. 4. Ancois e. a s. & h & r. 5. Jel. 7. H *om. line.* 8. Fins fu d. c. & l. sot en lui bon guerrier. 9. *pot*] vot. 10. H *om. lines* 10-12. 13. Ne f. h. blamer. [Onques ne vot oir vanteor novelier.] 14. *ot*] lot. & p. & rainier. 15. deseure t. p. [Que jeui lavoit fait a tiere trebucier.] 16. & m. le tient p. c. 17. as Diex. q. t. ont a baillier.
[Jupiter & Pallas vus en voel jou prier
& toi dame Juno qui sor tous as dangier.]
18. Que garises s. c. d. mort & denconbrier. 19. Jou n. autres n. puist. 20. Quar ce s. dolor. 21. S. jou v. l. puis p. nel tenrai p. 22. ne a moi s. 23. ferai aconpagnier. 24. Ja n. conquerrai mais vallisant l. d.

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Aucht wele to hald him in dainte,
For throw him alanerly it is
That we the feild leif on this wys."
IN fair speche lyis oft winning,
And in dispyte oft distrubling.
Be the this Gaudifere, say I,
That into weir was sa wourthy,
And gude wertewis in him had he,
For large of hart he was and fre,
And thair-with sueit and debonare,
Of courtis speking and of fare,
For he luffit neuer na lossingere,
Bot prysit thame that wourthy were;
Neuer in speche for melancoly
Defoulet he gude man na wourthy.
Alexander the nobill King
Had hard all haill his carping,
How he to gude Emynedoun,
Our all, gaif wourship and renoun.
He praisit him in his hart greatly,
And prayit to God Intentifly
That he sould saif him fra cumring,
That day, fra deid and fra menȝeing,
For him thocht great syn and pitie
That sic ane suld encumerit be.
He thocht, and he him takin be,
And he wald serue him in laute,
That he sould weill mak company
Of gude Emynedus the douchty
And of him, and neuer in his lyfe
Conquere [the] valour of ane syue,
That thairof na thing baith he and he

[Suld

2935. *wertewis*] wertuous.

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Dont ne soient andui seignor et parchonnier.
Devant trestous les autres, le tret a .i. archier,
Le siut li maines rois qui le corage ot fier.
Bucifal cort plus tost que chevreus par ramier
Ne fuit devant les chiens quant les voit aprocier.
Le champ fait retentir, l'erbe fresche trenchier,
Les chailloux par mi fendre et les cox esclerier,
Les fers des piés voler et trestous esrachier.
Gadifer le regarde quant l'oï aprochier ;
A l'escu de sinople, et au lyon d'or mier
Que il vit el chantel par devant flamboier,
Sot bien que ce estoit Alixand' d'Alier.
A .i. fais li guenchist quel volt contralïer,
Tout en oiant li dist : " Ne vous chaut si coitier,
Que ja trop longuement ne vous estuet proier
Que bien ne vous atende s'a moi volés plaidier !
Ceste terre est le duc ; je la voil calengier " !
Entre-ferir se vont sans autre manecier,
Les chevaus et les armes ont fait si adrecier
Que les lances de fresne ou li fer sont d'acier
Ont fait sor les escus par tronchons debrisier.
Li vassal furent fort et rade li destrier ;
Ne furent mie ombrage, ains sont fin droiturier ;
Que d'escus et de cors hurtent li chevalier,
Les boucles de fin or font toutes despicier,
Ens el champ sont volées, et li dui chandelier.
Les heaumes covint fraindre et les nassaus froissier,
Tous les vis se debrisent, n'i remest cuir entier,
Trés par mi les ventailles font le cler sanc raier

88, 34. dormier. 38. *vous*] vou.

88, 25. Q. nen s. a. larjement parcognier. 27. L. s. Alixandres. 28. *cort*] va. 29. Qui. 30. & l. fait t. 31. H *om. line.* 32. & l. claus esragier. 33. *loi*] il lot. 34. *For lines* 34-36 H *has:*
& a jure ses Dex a cui doit souploier
Ne le refusera nescun autre princier.
37. *guenchist*] trestorne. por lui c. 38. Oiant Grijois l. d. n. v. cant acointier. 39. Quar si t. l. n. v. estut p. 40. *bien*] je. 41. Cou e. t. l. d. si le v. c. 42. & va ferir le roi por lencaut detriier. [Li rois fait vers lui corre Bucifal le legier.] 43. *fait si*] s. f. 44. *Que* &. *ou*] dont. 45. & fraindre & depecier. 47. *mie*] pas. *fin*] si. 48. Q. des escus se h. si l. doi c. 49. *de*] a. en ont fait pecoier. 50. & s. e. c. vole par deseure li erbier. 51. *For lines* 51 *and* 52 H *has:*
Les esclices ont fait les vasaus damagier. 53. T. p. l. entralles fisent l. s. r.

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Suld parsonalis and lordis be.
Forow thame all that chaissand weir.
The King followit ane bow-dracht neir;
And Burssiuale richt fast him bair,
His feit he sparit na thing thair,
The erd dintit, he raid sa fast,
And fyre out of the flint[is] brast.
Gaudifere saw him cummand neir,
And be the scheild of Syper cleir,
Quhairin he saw an Egill stand
In-to the cantell of gold gletand,
He knew thairby it was the King;
And than, withoutin mare letting,
His hors to him he turnit in hy,
And, lauchand, said him courtesly,
" 3ow nedis nocht sa fast to ryde,
For I sall 3ou richt heir abyde.
Gif that 3ow lykis to iust with me,
This land the dukis suld be all fre,
And I will challange it to-day."
With that, withoutin mare delay,
Thai dressit thame for thair Iusting,
And on thair scheilds at thair meting
Thare speris all to schunder brast.
Thare hors war stark and hyit fast,
And thai war baith stout and hardy.
With thair bodyis, as thai raid by,
Thai hurkillit, and with scheildis, sa
That goldin buckillis brak in tua,
Helmis and mail3eis to-fruschit ar;
And baith thair visage hurt richt thair,
Till throw the ventale ran the blude,

[That

2963. burssiuale. 2970. *cantell*] castell.

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Et corre tout aval dessi qu'ens el braier.
Gadifer des Laris ou croissent li paumier
Par desor Bucifal qui le cuer ot legier
Tout envers sor la crupe fait le roi si ploier
Que li archons darrains covint s'i esmïer,
Sor le pis du cheval derompre le poitrier.
Tout estordi le lait, n'i volt plus detrïer
Ains s'en vait les galos sous frain tout .i. sentier.
Tholomer et Danclins i vinrent tout premier
Por lor lige seignor et secourre et aidier,
En la sele dorée le font tost redrechier.
D'estordissons revint, prist soi a afichier,
Son cheval fist restraindre, son poitral relaschier,
Lance roide demande, que encor vuet chacier.
" Sire," dist Tholomer, " je vous voi molt saignier !
Molt par estes bleciés, molt nous doit anuier.
Fierement se vint or cil a vous acointier,
Gadifer des Laris ne vous sot manadier !
Or savés conme il set cop de lance emploijer.
Molt i a cruël home et felon pautonnier.
Se vif le poés prendre, ce vous voil conseillier :
Tous li ors de cest mont nel devroit respitier."
Quant l'entendi li rois, si se prist a irier :
" Puis qu'avés tel talent de mon anui vengier,
S'un petit le volés plus de prés enchaucier,

88, 54. H *om. line.* 55. G. del L. qui tant fist a prisier. 56. H *om. line.* 57. T. de trauers le c. a f. l. r. p. 58. Q. larcon daerrain li ont fait e. 59. & les caingles d. salongent li estrier. [La siele entre ses cuises fist le roi trebucier.] 60. En mi le camp l. laise ne si v. detrier. 61. *sen*] en. sor son corant destrier. 62. T. & Clincons v. corant p. 63. *For lines* 63-66 H *has:*

Luns met main au ceval lautres au roi aidier
Alixandres saut sus ni ot que courechier
La siele li ont mise sor Bucifal arrier
Tholomes & Clincons li ont tenu lestrier
& quant fu remontes prist soi a avancier.

67. L. mise sor feutre car e. vot c. 69. H *om. line.* 70. *vint*] vient. 71. *des*] del. n. v. vot espargnier. 72. *emploijer*] paier. 73. H *om. line.* 74. ce v. v. jou prier. 75. ne li doit r.

[Que ne le face prendre u tout vif escorcier
U en l. fu ardant le faites graellier.]

76. Q. l. r. l. ni ot que courecier

[De cou que il soi ensi contraloiier
& li a respondu qui ni vot atargier
Tholomes saves vus que je vous voel priier.]

77. Por coi aves t. d. moi contraliier. [Je ne vus voi pas prest de mon honte vengier.] 78. Se vus l. voliies d. p. pres e.

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That stremand to thare sadillis ȝeid;
And Gaudifere him preissit sa
That he the King gart bakuart ga
Our the leyndis of Burssiuale.
Baith arsoun, girth and patrale
Brak in schunder, withoutin wene,
And he fell bakuart on the grene.
Than Gaudifere maid thair na baid,
Bot wallapand his wayis raid.
First to the King come Tholomere,
And Daucline als, that was his pere,
To help thair lord in full gude will.
His hors richt sone thay brocht him till,
And on his sadill thai him set,
And it that was to beit thai bet.
He askit, quhen he horssit was,
Ane speir, for ȝit wald he mare chais.
" ȝe are stonyit," said Tholomere,
" I se ȝow bleid on seir manere.
Now wait ȝe weill how Gaudifere
Can stoutly set ane straik with spere.
He is richt cruell and felloun.
And he war tane, suld na ransoun
Saif him na he suld hangit be,
Or els sum euill dede he sould de.
To saif his lyfe thair micht na wis
Honour na proffit to ȝow ris."

THE King beheld him irously,
And said, " sen thow hes sic inuy
To venge my harm, gif that thow will,

[Thow

2992. yare.
2995. burssiuale.
3001,-09. tholomere.
3002. daucline.
3013. *richt*] wicht.
3020. *thow*] ȝow.

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Bon loisir en aurois, ce cuit, ains l'anuitier !
Por quant vous ne l'avés or mie a essaier.
Du brun qu'amïés tant, vous a fait senestrier.
Voiant moi, vous en fist la sele a or vuidier
Et le coing de ce heaume en la terre fichier.
Bien puis dire por voir, ja celer nel vous quier,
De lui a recontrer n'avés nul desirier.
De dire tel parole vous devrïés targier,
Qu'il n'est mïe de ceus qui servent de noisier,
Ains set bien .i. estor fornir et conmenchier,
Si s'en set bien partir quant il en a mestier,
Et, s'il en voit son lieu, faire .i. biau recovrier.
Ne lait mïe ses gens trop de prés angoissier,
Ains les delivre bien quant les voit trop chargier.
Maint poindre bien empris a hui fait a corcier,
Et a tous nos meillors frains tenir et sachier.
Je n'en voi c'un tout seul envers lui eslessier
Qu'il ne faice a la terre tout estendu couchier.
Jehui l'en ai veü tex .iij. deschevauchier
Li pires le cuidast tous seus prendre et loier.

88, 90. enuoit. 94. *sachier*] hachier.

88, 79. *cuit*] crois. 80. *vous ne laues or mie*] n. l. v. m. o. 81. Cor Tholomes le b. que v. aves si chier. 82. de l. s. widier. 83. *For lines* 83 *and* 84 H *has:*

Que tout en vic ne rons vo ver elme dacier
Quidai que fuscies mort voloie vus vengier
Mais on ne puet a lui mie trop gaegnier
De dire tel parole vus deusies gaitier.

85. H *inverts lines* 85 *and* 86. Quar d. l. encontrer n. pas d. 86. v. deuisies gaitier. 87. Il. 89. Mult bel s. s. p. 90. H *om. line.* 91. N. l. m. se gent d. t. p. encaucier. 92. H *om. line.* 94. & t. n. m. f. & tirer & sacier. 95. J. ne vois nul de vus e. l. aprocier. 96. Que. [Ne il ne se meut mie premerains hebregier.] 97. H *om. lines* 97-103.

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Thow may haue laisere sone thair-till!
And, nocht-for-thy, I dar weill say
Thow hes him nocht now to assay.
Of the broune that thow luffit sa
To erd bakuard he gart the ga,
Quhen the cantell of thi helm sa cleir
Stikkit in the erd on sic manere,
For thi nekbane was neir bristing!
And I may weill say but lesing
That thow to meit him hes na will.
Of sic speche micht thow weill be still,
For I knaw he is nane of thay
That mekill noyis and bost will may,
For he can weill begin ane stour,
And end it als, weill with honour,
And, Quhen he seis he hes mister,
Part thair-fra on fair maner,
And mak mony ane fare recouering;
Quhen he preissit is ony thing,
He lettis nocht, withoutin weir,
His fallowis chaissit be to neir,
Bot thame with speir or [brand] all bare,
Deliueris thame, quhen chaissit are.
Mony fare point, throw his bounte,
Fele syis that day recouerit hes he,
And our best men and maist of mane
He gart oft hald thair hors agane.
Is nane that dar him neir assay
Than flatlingis to the erd gang thay.
This day I saw him fell sic thre
That the worst wint, throw his bounte,

[To

3025,-26. ye. 3027,-29. *thi*] yi.

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Diex li volt ces armes cortoisement baillier,
Ains d'escu ne de lance ne vi mais si manier.
Miex prise son fuïr que tout nostre chacier.
Cil qui l'a de mesnie se doit bien rehetier,
Car nul meillor de lui ne puet dame besier.
Ains se leroit detraire a queue de sommier
Qu'il feïst por pāour dont euist reprovier."

89 MOLT a bien Gadifer son encontre emploié
Quant il le roi meïsme a si estoutoié
Que tuit si meillor home en furent esmoié.
Il n'i a .i. tout seul tant l'eüst manechié
Fo. 86. Qui de lui enchaucier ait nule convoitié.
Cil de Gadres en furent durement rehetié,
Avec lui se resont tel quarante apuié
Qui tuit estoient d'armes cremu et essaucié.
Li forrier se resont ensamble ralïé
A une part du champ, con gent bien enseignié.
Emenidus d'Arcage lor a molt biau prïé

88, 99. *The line is one syllable short.* **89, 2.** meismes.

88, 99. Apres a dit li rois **a Dex quel cevalier.** 100. *mais*] nul. 101. H *inverts lines* 101 *and* 102. Quar plus p. s. f. q. ne fac no c. **[Com je li voi ses armes a mon talent baillier].** 102. le d. b. avoir cier. 103. Ne miudres chevaliers ne pot escu percier.

[Fors seul Emenidus qui fait les rens ploier
Mult aroie grande joie daus ii. aconpagnier
Sire dist Tholome se jel puis esploitier
Le ver quil enmena le quic jou vendre cier
Cou Lairis dont il est u croisent li paumier
Peuist il asses mius i. ceval bargignier
Caiele dist li rois laies votre plaidier
Ne le trovastes pas de ferir esclenkier
De lui seul a seur vus loi jou atargier.]

104. H *places lines* 104 *and* 105 *after the extra line following l.* 96. 105. *reprouier*] reprocier.

89, 1. *son*] **cest.** 3. Si q. li m. G. e. f. esmaie. 4. Nil nen i a i. s. t. lait estoutoiet. 5. encontrer. *nule*] mie. 6. *furent*] vont. *rehetie*] corecier. 7. H *om. lines* 7 *and* 8. 9. & l. f. en sont. 10. comme b. e. 11. *biau*] bien.

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To tak him allane and to bynd.
Se how he bydis his feris behind,
Lord, how he delis at his lyking
Baith with his hors and his arming!
I saw neuer man, my lyftyme ere,
Sa cleynly daill with scheild and spere.
I prais far mair his fleyng
Than I do all our follouing.
The lord that hes him of menȝe
Richt Ioyful in hart may he be,
For ane worthiar knicht na he,
I trow thair may nane fundin be,
For he had leuer to be slane,
Or hangit, or with hors be drawin,
Than he for radnes suld do sic thing
That micht him turne to repreuing."

GAVDIFIR hes this encountering
Set woundir weill, quhen he the King
Sa stoutly to the erd doun bare
That his best men abaissit ware.
The proudest that amang thame was
Had na great ȝarning him to chais;
And thay of Gaderis war richt blyth,
And Gaudifeir thair-to alsuyth
Ane houndreth heir assemblit ar,
That in armis richt wourthy war.
The furriours than saw thame reill,
That held thame ay in company weill,
With Emynedus thair ledere,
That he renounit bachilere.

[Quhen

3074. *him*] thame.

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Que il de bien ferir soient bien porcuidié,
Et il li ont trestuit bonement otroié
Que, por perdre les vies, ne feront mauvestié.
Dont brochent tuit ensamble et serré et rengié,
La peuissiés vëoir maint cheval eslessié
Et, por plus tost aler, des esperons touchié.
La ou s'entr'encontrerent n'ot onques manecié,
As lances et as brans ont tel jeu conmenchié
Dont maint cors de vassal jurent mort et blecié,
Des cevaus et des armes ont tout le champ jonchié.
Cil de Gadres s'en tornent qu'il n'i ont delaié,
Tel .xiiij. des lor i sont deschevauchié
Qui tuit gisent el champ, ocis et detrenchié.
A esperon s'en vont delés .i. brueil plessié,
La peüst l'en vëoir maint confanon baissié
Et a terre gesir maint escu vernicié,
Maint bon cheval de pris suant et estanchié.
Gadifer des Laris n'en a pas le cuer lié,
De ses conpaignons crient que il sont molt cargié.
Bien set, se il lor faut, que mal ont esploitié,
Car tuit cil qui pris erent seront mal herbergié ;
Mes il a de bien faire si le cuer empraignié
Qu'il ne fait nul samblant d'ome contralïé.
Sa lance avoit perdue, si a le branc sachié,
Por ces gens garandir a tel fait embracié

89, 15. en samble. 22. sentornent.

89, 12. Quil s. a b. faire prest & aparilliet. 13. *trestuit*] ensamble. 14. Q. p. prendre leur v. 15. Lors poignent t. ensamble quil ni ot detriiet. 16. La peuist on v. 17. H *om. lines* 17 *and* 18. 19. *ieu*] hu. 20. *maint*] tant. ont m. & trebuciet. 22. senfuient. que n. ot detrier. 23. *xiiij.*] xl. 24. *gisent*] furent. 25. *sen*] en. fuiant vers i. plaisiet. 26. *maint*] tant. 27. & jesir a l. t. m. e. vermilliet. 28. & tant c. d. p. 29. G. del L. not mie l. c. l. 30. q. forment s. c. 31. *lor faut*] lui perdent. 32. T. c. ki seront p. s. m. h. 33. l. c. s. empregniet. 35. *perdue*] brisie. *si a*] & tint. 36. P. sa gent g. a t. fais encargiet.

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Quhen he that had thame in leding
Had maid thame fair admonising
That at the ending thay suld weill do,
And thay assentit weill thair-to,
Ane poynt apertly than thay maid;
And Gaudifeir thame weill abaid.
Than men mycht se sic glew begin
That to the erd ȝeid mare and min.
Bot manassing, thay mony straik,
Great routis can thay gif and tak,
And sa lang war thay thair fechtand
That Gaderains had the wakar hand;
And quhen thai saw na better rede,
In full great hy thay left the steid;
Bot sexty of thair men of mane
At that assay thare left thay slane.
Strikand with spurris, thay fled in hy.
Thare mycht men se that had bene by
The chaissaris streik mony ane spere,
And mony ane hors that sweaty war,
And at the erd mony ane scheild
Weill vernist strouit in the feild.

GAVDIFEIR de Laris he was wa
When he his men saw chargit sa,
Bot he to do weill had sic will
That he na semblance maid of ill.
His spere was tint, bot he his brand
Had nakit drawin in his hand.
For to delyuer all his menȝe,
Sa great thing vndertane hes he

[That

3105. *de Laris*] declaris.

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Dont tuit cil qui le voient se sont esmerveillié.
Autresi les enmaine con li vilains a pié
Enchace devant lui ses bestes au marchié.
La retorne sovent ou il sont aprochié ;
Ci endroit n'a il mie de son escu pitié,
Tant le mist en present, si li ont detrenchié,
Que il en a perdu bien prés de la moitié.
En tant conme il enporte estoient ens fichié
Tel .vij. tronchon de lance en chascun ot lancié
Confanon de cendal ou pignoncel frangié.
Bien s'en alast sans perte, mes si l'ont angoissié
Licanor et Filote, li dui frere proisié
Et Caulus Menalis qui avoit enchaucié,
Que chascuns tint le fer de son trenchant espié
En l'auberc par derriere, si l'en ont enbrunchié
Sor l'archon dãarrain que tout l'ont defroissié.
Molt fu fors li haubers quant maille n'en rompié.
Li vassaus se redrece que li fust sont brisié,
O l'espée qui tint, si bien se desfendié
C'onques nus por le prendre le main n'i estendié,
Ains s'en vait tous delivres, maugré eus l'ont lessié.

NE porent li Gadrain l'estor plus maintenir ;
Ou il voillent ou non, lor covient a guerpir.
Li forrier les en virent tous desconfis partir,
Lor cheval furent las de longuement soffrir,
Por quant de l'enchaucier ne se porent tenir,
A esperon les siuent, convoiteus de ferir,

89, 52. darrain. 57. senuait.

89, 37. *en*] se. 39. Va cacant d. l. *ses*] les. 40. H *om. line.* 41. La e. nont i. m. 42. Quar t. lont mis e. prise tout li o. detailliet. 43. Si quil e. ont p. plus d. lune m. 44. E. cel t. kil e. e. enficiet. 45. H *om. line.* 46. P. & c. & confanon fregiet. [Dusqua iiii. de caus ki lorent aprociet.] 47. *sans perte*] a **Gadres.** *si*] il. 48. doit freres mult p. 49. *For lines* 49-51 H *has only :* Sor son escu a or que tout lont e. 52. H *om. lines* 52-53. 54. *que*] quant. 55. A l. quil tient. 56. Que n. daus p. lui p. n. a l. m. tendie. 57. H *om. line.*

90, 1. *lestor plus*] V p. l. 2. H voelent. *a*] H il. V estot le champ g. 3. HV & l. Griu l. e. fisent (V ueient). *partir*] H fuir. 4. H del grant estor s. ; V d. l. fuir. 5. *porent*] H voelent ; V uoldrent. 6. *de*] H des ; V del.

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That all the warld suld ferly haue.
Before him all his folk he draif,
Richt as the husband driuis his fee,
To sell at markat or at Citie.
Thare mony fare turning he maid,
For to help his that mister had.
Thare it was sene richt weill that he
Had of his gilt scheild na pitie,
For he abandonit to thame sa
That the tane half was neir in tua,
And in the laif was thair truncheonis
Of speris, strekand weill thare pennonis.
Men sayis he had to Gaderis gane
Maugre the chaissaris euerilkane,
Na war Philot and Licanor
And Caulus, that come him before.
With speris on him thai straik al thre,
Quhill on his arsoune dintit he.
With the suord, throw his bounte,
Sa manfully him defendit he
That nane his hand straucht him to ta;
Maugre thame all, he went thame fra.

THE gude Gaderanis that with him war
Micht nocht endure the stour na mair.
The fourriours that chaissit thame na,
All discumfit hes sene thame fla,
Quhill all thair hors wor sa wery,
For thay war trauelit gretumly,
Thay micht nocht hald thame fra chaissing,
Bot follouit thame efter in ane lyng.

[Emynedus

3124. L. *thair.* 3127. philot. 3129. L. *all.* 3135. gaderanis. 3138. *fla*] sla.

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Emenidus devant, qui les rens fait fremir
Et la pierre esgruner et la terre bondir,
Gadifer a consuit, dont avoit grant desir,
Et cil s'est regardés qui l'oï tost venir,
Puis dist : " Haute chose est de preudome obeïr.
Qui faire ne le vuet, bien s'en doit repentir.
Cist seus en oseroit .iiij. mil envaïr,
Non por quant tant resent mon cuer de grant aïr
Que bien os mon escu contre le sien guenchir.
Maint fil de france dame nous a hui fait fenir,
Les meres n'en seront a piece sans soupir.
Nostre grant joie a fait en grant duel revertir.
Ne sai qu'en avendra, ou doloir ou joïr.
Il covient l'un de nous envers l'autre escremir.
Miex voil metre mon cors du tout el covenir
Que faire por päour dont me doie honnir.
Plus criem et redout honte que je ne fais morir ! "

91 GADIFER fu molt preus, d'un arrabi lignage
En Berri fu norris, et cil de son parage

90, 8. H **Pieres** esquarteler & l. t. tentir. 9. HV **a** i. destroit (V plein pour) **iscir** ; I a ceval a loisir. 10. V **a** conuit. H & c. le regarda. H q. t. l. v. ; I quant il l. v. ; V kil oi t. v. 11. H *Puis*] H &. *obeir*] H **norir** ; I cerir ; V seruir. 12. HV & q. f. nel viut (V uolt). *sen*] H **se**. 13. V C. **a**. oseient hui. HV bien (V *om.*) .x. m. e. 14. HV *om. lines* 14 *and* 15. 16. *france dame*] H **castelain**. 17. V L. m. ne serroient. 18. Il **a** f. ml't de gent. H a dolor r. ; V **a** g. d. r. [H Jou ne voi que lui seul encontre moi venir]. 19. HIV & (V ne) Deu uert **a** (I ne quert **a** Dex) **plaisir**. [HV **Ne li quels se deura** ou doleir ou ioir (*cp. prec. line*)]. 20. *escremir*] H guencir. 21. *el*] H al ; V **a**. 22. H Q. jou face tel cose. *honnir*] H hair.

91, 1. *preus*] fiers. V **corage**. 2. *fu*] V ert. H Al Lairis f. n. *parage*] HV lignage.

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Emynedus before thame raid,
Ane staluart spere in hand he had.
Sa fast Ferrand than gart he ga
That stanis and flagmontis flaw him fra.
He had our-tane gude Gaudifeir,
And he, that hard on sic maneir
Him sa stoutly follow his trais,
He lukit and knew weill quhat he was.
Syne sais, " it is gude thing, suthlie,
To nurris gude men and wourthy,
And he that negaitis do na will,
He sall repent him, as is skill.
This knicht allane durst tak on hand
For to assay thretty thousand.
Mony fair lordis sonnes to-day
He hes put to our hard assay,
That the motheris that thame bare
Sall haue lang tyme thare hartis sare.
Our mekill Ioy to-day hes he
Gart to our mekill dule turnit be.
I wait nocht quhat thairof may fall,
Na quhilk of vs that tyne sall,
Bot that our departing beis wa.
Bot me had leuer, how euer it ga,
To all perellis put my body
Than for radnes do velany.
Thare sall na kin dout me leid,
For I dout schame weill mare na deid."
GAVDIFEIR was full douchty,
Of hie worship and cheualry,
And great courage of hart alsua ;

[And

3145. ferrand. 3151. *thing*] think I. 3166. *me*] we.

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Par proësce entreprent sa perte et son damage.
N'en prist mïe conseil a son droit seignorage.
Se Betis le veïst, il le tenist a rage
D'un seul home vers lui atornast a outrage
Ne guenchist mie a loi de fol vilain ombrage,
Mes, la lance bessie, a .i. fer de Cartage,
Et tant con li chevaus puet venir par l'erbage.
Ferrans qui fu norris en riche pasturage,
Recort assés plus tost d'un esprevier marage.
Molt sont prés de joster, qui que tort a folage,
Ja n'en seront donné ne plege ne ostage,
Ne flanche rompue, ne deguerpi homage,
Fo. 86v. Ains cuit bien qu'au partir i lera li uns gage.

92 FIER furent li vassal et de grant estoutie,
Proësce et mautalens et fiertés les envie
Et semont et esmuet de grant chevalerie.
L'uns lait corre vers l'autre qu'autrement ne deffie,
Car il n'avoit entr'eus amor ne druërie.
Gadifer vint molt tost, qu'il n'a talent qu'il rie,
En son bras ot lachie une manche s'amie,
Qui n'estoit mïe garce ne povrement norrie,
Mes riche damoisele, fille au roi de Nubie.

91, 7. *a loi*] *supplied; ombrage*] ne ombrage.
12. sont *is written twice.*

91, 3. *sa perte*] H son **honte**; I tel p. &] V de. 4. V *om. line.* 5. H Sor le seust B.; V Si cheitif li v. *a rage*] H al r.; V aerage. 6. *home*] V griu. *uers*] I envers. H D. h. Gadifier. *atornast*] H tenist il; I le tenist. *outrage*] V uiltage.

[Mais li rois Alixandres le vit a son barnage
Gadifier del Lairis u mult ot vaselage.]

7. HIV N. g. (V gwenchent) m. a lui (IV loi) d. f. v. o 8. *a i.*] H u ot; V en out. [HV En lescu embuscies (V **Enbrüchez sos lescu**) plains de grant vaselage.] 9. H T. c. li bais cevaus. HV pot (V put) corre p. l. [V I let coure al essperon cō home de fier courage.] 10. *en*] H au. 11. H Revint. V Ke uet corrant p. t. HV ramage (V rainage). 12. *pres*] H prest; I lie. H damage. I par lor grant vaselage. V Gadifer fu p. d. j. ki kel tenge a f. 13. V ne serroit. 15. V Einz c. b. ki lerra l. un lautre sun g.

92, 1. I estormie. 2. H Orgius. I P. & hardemans m. & e. 3. HV & e. & s. 4. HV q. (H autrement) nel d. 5. V Si kil n. e. namour n. d. 6. H qui mautalent aigrie. 7. H *om. lines* 7-9. 9. *Nubie*] V percie.

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And shame, that distrenȝeit sa,
His great skaith hes vndertane.
At Betys counsall tuik he nane,
For he wald hald it great foly
That ony ane manis body
Sould put him-selfe in sik bandoun
Agane the duke Emynedoun.
Bot he had nocht this counsall than,
Trauersit his hors as michty man;
He turnit nocht abasitly,
Bot, with speir straucht full sturdelly,
Enbushit vnderneth his sheild,
With helme embroshit, endlang the feild
He draue agane Emynedoun,
That come prikand in ane randoun
On Ferrand, that richt fast him bare.
To the iusting richt neir thay ware;
I trow thair sall na peace be maid,
Na ȝit plunging be na baid
Betuix thame, quhill the tane haue skaith.
Now at the semble ar thay baith.
Thay war baith stout and hardy,
And full of hie, great cheualry,
For ire, matelent and stoutnes
Summond thame to do proues.
Ather agane vther raid,
Bot na kin mannance was thair maid.
Gaudifeir come first richt stoutly.
Vpon his gilt helme, for drowrie,
Was put the sleif of ane lady,
The Kingis dochter of Nuby.

[Emynedus

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Si fiert Emenidon en la targe florie,
Desous la boucle a or li a frete et croissie,
De tel vertu l'empaint et de tel estoutie
La guige en est rompue et l'enarme faillie,
En mi le champ le porte sor l'erbe qui verdie.
Por quant Emenidus ne se muet ne ne plie,
Ains a la sieue lance droite voie choisie,
Par dedevant la targe a or encoulorie
Le feri sor la broigne an deus dobles sarcie,
La maille en a trenchié la ou li aciers brie,
El cors li fait sentir le fust de Romenie
Que assés prés de cuer est la lance croissie,
Cil chiet du cop mortel, s'a la sele guerpie.
Ses chevaus ert si bons, ne sai que vous en die,
Onques si bons n'issi du regne de Persie.
Emenidus en a la resne a or saisie,
De lui et de Ferrant fera la compaignie.
Alixand' cachoit devers destre partie,
Vit le cop du baron et la jouste furnie,
Vers lui est trestornés, hautement li escrie :
" Vous en doing je le pris et emport garantie !
Par vous est desconfite la pute gent haïe.
Ne vous puënt soffrir ne la vostre envaïe,
Car enprés vostre cop ne done entres aïe.
Que cil garisse mes, je ne creroie mie ! "
Et cil jut a la terre en qui n'a point d'envie,
La plaignent li Grejois lui et sa baronnie
Et la tresgrant proësce qu'il avoit acuillie.

92, 13. len arme. 14. *sor*] desus. 18. *feri*] fri.

92, 10. *Si*] H &. *en*] HV sor. 11. V *om. lines* 11-13. H quasie. 12. H Par grant v. l. & par grant baronie. 13. H *places the line after line* 11. L. g. e. derompue & lenarme f. 14. H E. m. l. pre. HV lemporte. HV sor (V sur). 16. lance] V hanste. HI droitement envoie (I acoillie). [V Que de souz la bocle a or li a freite & croissie.] 17. HV Tres (V Que) p. devant l. t. V ki est a or burnie. 18. H L. fiert desor l. b. ; V L. feri en l. b. V kest en d. s. 19. H *om. line.* V Les mailles entr'ncha a icele enuaie. 20. V *om. lines* 20-25. H fist. *fust*] H fier. 21. H Si quases p. d. c. 22. H *om. line.* I s. sa s. widie. 23. H *om. lines* 23-25. 26. HV D. l. & del bon bai sen va (V seura) l. c. 29. *est*] V sest. H devers l. se torna a hautes (? haute) vois l. crie. 30. *le pris*] H lounor. H & porte g. 32. HV Que (V Kil) n. pooit (V poent) s. v. cevalerie. 33. *cop*] V mein. H n. d. entresaie ; V na nuls entrez a. 34. H Se c. garist jamais. H il avera bon mie ; I mult ora signorie ; V ico n. quid io m. [H A Gadifier areste des Grius une partie.] 35. *a la terre*] V estendus. *na*] V nout. H Por cou que mort le quident & lame departie. 36. V cõpainie. H Le p. & regretent ne se targierent mie. 37. H Son cors & sa p. V que cil out a.

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Emynedus in the sheild him straik
Quhill he in sheuers can it shaik,
He panit him with ane great micht,
Till of the sheild that shynit bricht
The brais and buklis brast in tua,
And bare it in the feild him fra;
Bot, nocht-for-thy, Eminedoun
Tint na sterop na arsoun,
Bot smot him with sa mekill micht
Vpone the birnie that was bricht,
Befoir the targe that he couth beir,
Neir in his hart he bare the speir;
And he fell with that deidly dint.
Emynedus the hors hes hint,
That was sa guid that nane micht be
Ane better steid in na cuntre.
Now may he weill mak cumpany
Of him and Ferrand, the lufly.
THE King neir by the chais can mak
And sawe richt weill the staluart straik;
And towart him he come in hy,
And said, " shir, of this cheualry
I gif 3ow halely all the prys.
Thir folk throw 3ow discumfit is.
Thay micht nocht thole 3our assail3eing.
Aganes 3our dint helpis na thing.
The man is deid, withouttin wene."
And he lay strekit on the grene.
The knichtis of Grece grittumly,
[Menit] him and his cheif cheualry,
His worship and his great bounte.

[Emynedus

3213. samekill. 3229. *nocht*] not.

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Emenidus meïsmes de l'enfoïr les prie,
Que laidement ne soit sa bele char perie :
" Doels est de sa proësce qui si tost est finie !
Par .i. pou ne m'en poise (se Diex me beneïe !)
Mes tel chose m'a faite qui molt me contralie ! "
Et li rois est venus, qui l'uevre a esjoïe,
Rit soi de la parole quant il l'a bien oïe,
Puis a dit : " Bien est voirs que frans cuers s'umelie.
Bien sai c'uns autres hon cest mot ne deïst mie,
Mes molt estes vaillans et plains de cortoisie ! "

93 CIL ot feru grant cop qui donei en ot maint.
Pou est nus hon el siecle qui refuser nel daint.
Qui il encontre bien, en sele ne remaint,
Petit dure es archons quant par force l'empaint,
Jus le covient aler se la sele ne fraint.
Au sanc qu'il ot perdu et au chaut quel destraint,
Sor Ferrant s'est pasmés, que travaus le sorvaint,
Et li rois l'aperchoit que joie dont sorfraint
Ses .ij. poins fiert ensamble et durement se plaint :
" Gentiex, se vous morés, bien me tieng por ataint !
Onques mieudres de vous ne porta escu paint

92, 43. *Et li*] Li.

92, 38. *les*] H len. 39. V Q. n. s. l. H la soie cars p.
[H Puis le plaint & regrete ne puet muer ne die
A gentius chevaliers plains de grant signorie
Gens cuers haute proecce proudons ciere hardie
Ja de millor de vus ne nert lance brisie
Ne fors escus saisis ne baniere lacie.]
40. H De la votre p. *qui*] V quant. 41. *men*] V me. H Est dex & grans pecies. 42. H & saves fait t. c dont m. m. c.
[H Non porquant si me poise se Dex me beneie (*cp. line* 41)
Quar de votre valor nest mes hom avouie.]
43. V & l. *For lines* 43 *and* 44 H *has:* Alixandres l. r. a l. p. o. 44. V *om. line.*
[H Cele part vint corant tint lespee sacie
De sanc & de cerviele fu rouge & empalie
& a dit a ses homes en qui forment safie
Oies de Gadifier ne puis muer nen rie
Que Gadifier regraite ja nest cou druerie
Que Pirrus de Monflor qui tenoit Alenie
A hui fet mort soufrir a itele hascie.]
45. *bien*] H cou. 46. *hō*] I cuers. H B. s. que i. vilains n. le d. m. ; V B. s. dun felon home kil nel d. m. 47. HV *om. line.*
93, 1. HV C. ont f. (H done) maint c. H & recut e. ont m. 2. V Ou e. n. h. tant fiers. H Na sou ciel chevalier. H que il r. d. ; I que deviser le d. 3. H *places line* 3 *after line* 1. V Kar sil lencontre b. 4. H *om. line.* V kil p. f. enpeint. 5. *le*] V len. *sele*] HV lance. V si lance n. lui f. 7. H Se pasma .iiii. fois ; V Pasme est as arcons. HV car anuis (V li chauz) l. s. 8. *laperchoit*] V le percut. *que*] H qui. V li. H d. i.

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Emynedus prayit ȝit that he suld be
Erdit, that his fare flesch na ware
Reuin with beistis, hede nor hare:
"Heir of his dede I haue pitie,
Bot he sa greatly chaissit me,
Quhen that he slew Pirrus the gude,
That he than mingit all my mude.
ȝit me forthinkis that he is slane,
With all my mude and all my mane."
The King weill hard him mak his mane,
And to him said, lauchand, on ane,
"It is suith exemplair thay say,
That wourthy hartis it makis ay.
I wait it, without lesing,
Sum vther wald nocht say sic thing.
He that sydis hes gart sow sair,
Ane sturdy straik he hes striken thair,
And sa sturdy, forsuith, it is,
This day was nane sic strikin, I wis.
Attour all sould he louit be,
That nane attendit to his bounte!"
Bot the great blude that he hes bled,
And the heit als, sa hard him led
That he suouned richt on his steid.
The King it sawe, and sair can dreid
That he sould die thair in that place.
Than menit he him, and said, "allace,
Gif that thow deis, gentill knicht,
The flour is done of all my micht.
I trow neuer mair ioyous sall I be
Into my hart, gif I tyne the,

[Na

3241. pirrus. 3263. knicct.

H soufraint; V suffreient. 9. V ducement. *se*] IV le. V *stops here. Except when preceded by* 'I,' *the following variants are those of* H. 10. *bien*] je.

[Jou ne quic que jamais mes cuers joie demaint.]
[I par trestote la tere coceanus ataint.]

11. O teus chevaliers.

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Ne ne trencha de lance vernis ne autre taint ! "
Et li Grieu s'i assamblent, n'i a celui ne l'aint ;
La mainent tel dolor que la chace remaint.
Et Betis se garisse, qui d'aler ne se faint.
Li rois son meillor mire rueve c'on li amaint
Si tost con li chevaus d'aigre süeur le baint ;
Cil savoit tant de plaie n'estuet c'on li ensaint,
Leve le bonement et atorne et restraint,
D'une bende de porpre par mi le pis le chaint.
Molt li poise du roi qui se dolose et plaint,
Ne vuet qu'il se gramisse ne sire li engraint,
Ains li fait bien entendre tous est fis qu'il le saint.

94 SOR une coutepointe de paile et d'auqueton
Esspessement forrée et plaine de coton,
Quant l'orent desarmé et faissié environ,
Couchierent li Grejois le preu Emenidon,
Licanor delés lui, son gentil conpaignon,
Qui li fu aportés, pasmés, sor .i. blason,
Car Betis l'ot feru d'une lance a bandon ;
Devers le costé destre cognurent le pomon.
Li rois fist desus euls tendre son paveillon,
Li mires du garir i mist grant espison,
Qu'ains .xx. jors les rendi si sains conme poisson.
Par tans porront porter chascuns son confanon
Et ferir chevalier d'eslais et de randon,
Mar en ert pris hostages, se de la teste non.

93, 23. les aint. **94**, 2. Esspessement. 7. abandon.

93, 12. *autre*] escu. 13. L. G. s. asanlerent. *celui*] i. seul. 14. H *places line after the second of the extra lines following* 15. *La*] I &. H Ici grant dol demaine. 15. garist.

[**Bien puet venir a Gadres se en lui ne demaint**
Ancois que li Griu laient conseu ne ataint.]

16. *son*] le. *rueue*] H rouva ; I prie. 17. 9] que. *daigre*] H en guef (? grief) ; I en grant. *le*] se. [& cil i vint corant qui le quida ataint.] 18. & il sest t. deploiie. I nest nus qui l. e. 19. H Si la oint dongement & bende & r. ; I Lave la b. essue & r. 20. D. fasce porprine p. m. les flans lataint. 21. Apres a dit au r. que caitif ne se claint. 22. Que voel q. face dol ne secort l. e. 23. A tous la f. e. bien e. drois q. le saint.

94, 1. fouree d. 2. H *places line 2 after line* 4. Menuement ouvree de soie & d. c. 3. H *om. line.* 4. A fait li rois coucier. 5. *For line* 5 H *has two :*

& Gadifier o lui s. jentil c.
& L. o l. qui cuer ot de lion.

6. *li*] I la. H Li Griu lorent trove p. s. le sablon. 8. D. d. lot pris si con vit l. p. 9. L. r. a fait sor aus t. le p.

[Dont tout furent a or li pan & li gieron
& les cordes de soie & dor fin li paisson.]

10. H prist une livrison ; I met grant entension. H *interpolates here* 28 *lines.*

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Na I trow neuer to conqueir
Castell, citie, na land of weir ! "
The Grecians menit him halely,
For all thay luffit him tenderly.
Sa great ane dule amang thame was
That thay haue left all haill the chais,
For thay wenit that the knicht of prys
Sould thare haue endit his gentrys ;
And Betys raid sa spedely
That he to Gaderis come in hy,
Sory of his discomfiting,
And Alexander, the nobill King,
Efter his maister leich hes sent,
And he come sone at commandment,
That at his bidding boun was ay
To wirk his will baith nicht and day,
And tentit Emynedus and the wound,
And said richt sone he sould be sound.
Vpon ane cod punȝeid of cottoun,
Was thikker than ane actoun,
Thay laid Emynedus softly ;
And Lycanor, his feir, him by.
In suouning Lycanor thidder brocht,
For Betys sic ane rout him rocht
That men micht weill his longis se.
The King gart our thame stentit be
His Pauilloun in full great hy,
And the leich trauelled bisselly
To haill thame tua that woundit were,
And said thay sould be haill and fere
Maid within ane lytill space.

[The

[De tous iii. a garir mes li mors li diston . . . Le roi a fiancie a la clere facon (Michelant, p. 189, lines 3-30): *Gadifer, dying, bids farewell to Emenidus, and is mourned by Alexander and his knights.* 11. H Que il le rendera plus sain que i. p. ; I Ains .xx. j. le rendra tous s. c. i. p.
[Par erbe & par enplastre & par bone puison
& se il cou ne fait ja nen ait garison.]
12. H *places lines* 12 *and* 13 *after line* 14. porra. 13. de lance & d. troncon. 14. Ne nen soit p. ostages.

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Tel joie en ont par l'ost tout oublïent Sanson
Et Pirrus de Monflor o la gente faichon,
Car li grans desconfors ert par Emenidon.
Lors se firent logier li Grieu par contenchon,
Assés en poi de terme fichierent maint pesson,
Fo. 37. Qui n'ot tente ne tref, de rains fist sa meson ;
Icele nuit passerent a poi de livroison.

94, 16. *gente*] clere. 17. Quar tous l. d. estoit demenidon.
[Alixandres li rois lor a dit tel licon
Les mors laisies as mors & as vis se tenge on.]
18. La veiscies le soir tendu tant pavillon. 19. H *om. line.* 20. *not*] vot. si en ot a fuison. [Li plusior se dormoient sans noise & sans tencon.]

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The folk of Grece sa ioyfull was
Of this, that thay forȝet Sampsoun,
And of Mountflour alsua Pyrroun.
Than all thay ludgit thame, I hecht,
Quha had na tent, ane ludge hes dicht
Of branchis, that micht gottin be;
That nicht thay passit with lytill le.

¶ Heir endis the first part of the buke of the most noble and vaillȝeand Conquerour, Alexander the great. Callit the Forray of Gaderis.

* * *

3300. mountflour. Conqueronr.

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